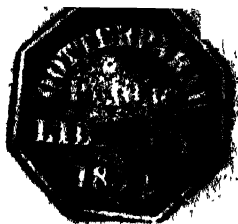


Preliminary Essay vol. - I

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PRELIMINARY ESSAY.

It was not from personal vanity, but a fair estimate of his own merit, and the importance of the subject on which he wrote, that the author of the ensuing letters predicted their immortality. The matter and the manner, the times and the talents they disclose, the popularity which attended them at their outset, the impression they produced on the public mind, and the triumph of the doctrines they inculcate, all equally concur in stamping for them a passport to the most distant posterity.

In their range these letters comprise a period of about five years ; from the middle of 1767 to the middle of 1772 : and never has the history of this country, from its origin to the present hour, exhibited a period of equal extent that more peremptorily demanded the severe, decisive, and overpowering pen of such a writer as JUNIUS. The storms and tempests that, within the last twenty years, have shaken the political world to its centre, have been wider and more tremendous in their operation ; but they have, for

PRELIMINARY ESSAY.

the most part, discharged their fury at a distance. The constitutions of other countries have been swept away by the whirlwind; but that of England still towers, like the pyramids of Egypt, a wonderful and immortal fabric, overshadowing the desert that surrounds it, and defying the violence of its hurricanes. In the period before us, however, this stupendous and beautiful fabric itself was attacked, and trembled to its foundation: a series of unsuccessful ministries too often profligate and corrupt, and not unfrequently cunning, rather than capable; a succession of weak and obsequious parliaments, and an arbitrary, though able chief justice, addicted to the impolitic measures of the cabinet, fatally concurred to confound the relative powers of the state, and equally to unhinge the happiness of the crown and of the people; to frustrate all the proud and boasted triumphs of a glorious war, concluded but a few years before by an inglorious peace; to excite universal contempt abroad, and universal discord at home. Hence France, humiliated as she was by her losses and defeats, did not hesitate to invade Corsica in open defiance of the remonstrances of the British minister; and succeeded in obtaining possession of it, whilst Spain dishonourably refused to make good the ransom

¹ In 1763, through the negotiation of the Duke of Bedford.

she had agreed to, for the restoration of the capital of the Philippine Isles, which had been saved from pillage upon this express stipulation. They saw the weakness and distraction of the English Cabinet, and had no reason to dread the chastisement of a new war.

The discontents in the American colonies, which a little address might at first have stifled for ever, were blown into a flame of open rebellion, by the impolitic violence of the very minister who was appointed, by the creation of a new office at this very time and for this express purpose, to examine into the causes of dissatisfaction, and to redress the grievances complained of: while, at home, the whole ways and means of the ministry, instead of being directed against the insolence of the common enemy, were exhausted against an individual, who, perhaps, would never have been so greatly distinguished, had not the ill-judged and contumacious opposition of the cabinet, and their flagrant violation of the most sacred and important principles of the constitution, in order to punish him, raised him to a height of popularity seldom attained even by the most successful candidates for public applause; and embroiled themselves on his account in a dispute with the nation at large, almost amounting to a civil war, and which, at

length, only terminated in their own utter confusion and defeat¹.

It was at this period, and under these circumstances, that the ensuing letters successively made their appearance in the *Public Advertiser*, the most current newspaper of the day². The classical chastity of their language, the exquisite force and perspicuity of their argument, the keen severity of their reproach, the extensive information they evinced, their fearless and decisive tone, and, above all, their stern and steady attachment to the purest principles of the constitution, acquired for them, with an almost electric speed, a popularity which no series of letters have since possessed, nor perhaps ever will; and what is of far greater consequence, diffused among the body of the people a clearer knowledge of their constitutional rights than they had ever before attained, and animated them with a more determined spirit to maintain them inviolate³. Enveloped in the cloud of a

¹ In the language of Lord Chatham, delivered on May 1, 1771, in the House of Lords, "they rendered the very name of parliament ridiculous, by carrying on a constant war against Mr. Wilkes."

² They were generally copied from the *Public Advertiser* into all the daily and evening papers.

³ That the same general impression was produced by the appearance

fictional name, the writer of these philippics, unseen himself, beheld with secret satisfaction, the vast influence of his labours, and enjoyed, though, as we shall afterwards observe, not always without apprehension, the universal hunt that was made to detect him in his disguise. He

appearance of these letters in Parliament, which is so well known to have been produced out of it, is evident from almost all the speeches of the day, if the editor had time to refer to them. But the two following extracts from a speech of Mr. Burke and of Lord North will, he presumes, be sufficient for the purpose.

The first ensuing is part of a speech delivered by the former gentleman.

"Where then shall we look for the origin of this relaxation of the laws and all government? How comes this Junius to have broke through the cobwebs of the law, and to range uncontrouled, unpunished, through the land? The myrmidons of the court have been long, and are still, pursuing him in vain. They will not spend their time upon me, or you, or you. No: they disdain such vermin, when the mighty boar of the forest, that has broke through all their tils, is before them. But what will all their efforts avail? No sooner has he wounded one than he lays down another dead at his feet. For my part, when I saw his attack upon the King, I own my blood ran cold. I thought he had ventured too far, and there was an end of his triumphs, not that he had not asserted many truths. Yes, Sir, there are in that composition many bold truths, by which a wise prince might profit. It was the rancour and venom, with which I was struck. In these respects the North Briton is as much inferior to him, as in strength, wit, and judgment. But while I expected in this daring flight, his final ruin and fall, behold him rising still higher, and coming
ing

beheld the people extolling him, the court execrating him, and ministers and more than ministers trembling beneath the lash of his invisible hand.

It is by no means, however, the intention of the editor of the present volumes to vindicate

ing down souse upon both Houses of Parliament. Yes, he did make you his quarry, and you still bleed from the wounds of his talons. You crouched, and still crouch, beneath his rage. Nor has he dreaded the terrors of your brow, Sir; he has attacked even you—he has—and I believe you have no reason to triumph in the encounter. In short, after carrying away our Royal Eagle in his pounces, and dashing him against a rock, he has laid you prostrate. King, Lords, and Commons are but the sport of his fury. Were he a member of this house, what might not be expected from his knowledge, his firmness, and integrity? He would be easily known by his contempt of all danger, by his penetration, by his vigour. Nothing would escape his vigilance and activity. Bad ministers could conceal nothing from his sagacity; nor could promises nor threats induce him to conceal any thing from the public."

The following is part of a speech delivered by Lord North.

"When factious and discontented men have brought things to this pass, why should we be surprised at the difficulty of bringing libellers to justice? Why should we wonder that the great boar of the wood, this mighty Juvius has broke through the toils and foiled the hunters? Though there may be at present no spear that will reach him, yet he may be some time or other caught. At any rate he will be exhausted with fruitless efforts; those tusks which he has been whetting to wound and gnaw the constitution will be worn out. Truth will at last prevail. The public will see and feel that he has either advanced

the whole of the method pursued by JUNIUS towards the accomplishment of the patriotic objects on which his heart appears to have been most ardently engaged. Much of his individual sarcasm might perhaps have been spared with advantage—and especially the whole of his personal assaults upon the character and motives of the King. Aware as he is of the arguments in favour of occasionally attacking the character of the chief magistrate, as urged by JUNIUS himself in his Preface post p. 41 and 42 in Vol. II. p. 315, he still thinks that no possible circumstances could justify so gross a disrespect and indecency; that no principle of the constitution supports it,

vanced false facts, or reasoned falsely from true principles; and that he has owed his escape to the spirit of the times, not to the justice of his cause. The North Briton, the most flagitious libel of its day, would have been equally secure, had it been as powerfully supported. But the press had not then overflowed the land with its black gall, and poisoned the minds of the people. Political writers had some shame left; they had some reverence for the Crown, some respect for the name of Majesty. Nor were there any members of Parliament hardy enough to harangue in defence of libels. Lawyers could hardly be brought to plead for them. But the scene is now entirely changed. Without doors, within doors, the same abusive strains prevail. Libels find patrons in both houses of Parliament as well as in Westminster Hall. Nay, they pronounce libels on the very judges. They pervert the privilege of this house to the purposes of faction. They catch and swallow the breath of the inconstant multitude, because, I suppose, they take their voice, which is now that of libels, to be the voice of God."

and that every advantage it was calculated to produce, might have been obtained in an equal degree and to an equal extent, by animadverting upon the conduct of the king's ministers, instead of censuring that of the king in person. In the volumes before us the editor is ready to acknowledge that these kinds of paragraphs seem at times not altogether free from, what ought never to enter the pages of a writer on national subjects—individual spleen and enmity. But well may we forgive such trivial aberrations of the heart, in the midst of the momentous matter these volumes are well known to contain, the important principles they inculcate; and especially under the recollection that but for the letters of JUNIUS, the Commons of England might still have been without a knowledge of the transactions of the House of Commons, consisting of their parliamentary representatives—have been exposed to the absurd and obnoxious harassment of parliamentary arrests, upon a violation of privileges undefined and incapable of being appealed against—defrauded of their estates upon an arbitrary and interested claim of the crown—and deprived of the constitutional right of a jury to consider the question of law as well as that of fact. To the steady patriotism of the late Mr. Fox is the nation solely indebted for a direct legislative decision upon this last important point;—but the ground was previ-

ously cleared by the letters before us; it is not often that a judge has dared openly to controvert this right since the clear and unanswerable argument of JUNIUS upon this subject, in opposition to the arbitrary and illegal doctrine of Lord Mansfield, as urged in the case of the King against Woodfall:—an argument which seems to have silenced every objection, to have convinced every party, and without which perhaps even the zeal and talents of Mr. Fox himself might have been exercised in vain.

But, after all, who or what was JUNIUS? this *shadow of a name*, who thus shot his unerring arrows from an impenetrable concealment, and punished without being perceived? The question is natural; and it has been repeated almost without intermission, from the appearance of his first letter. It is not unnatural, moreover, from the pertinacity with which he has at all times eluded discovery, that the vanity of many political writers of inferior talents should have induced them to lay an indirect claim to his Letters, and especially after the danger of responsibility had considerably ceased. Yet while the Editor of the present impression does not undertake to communicate the real name of JUNIUS, he pledges himself to prove, from incontrovert-

¹ See this case more particularly detailed in note to Preface p. 14 of this Vol. and note to Vol. II. p. 62.

ible evidence, afforded by the private letters of JUNIUS himself during the period in question, in connexion with other documents, that not one of these pretenders has ever had the smallest right to the distinction which some of them have ardently coveted.

These private and confidential letters, addressed to the late Mr. Woodfall, are now for the first time made public by his son, who is in possession of the author's autographs¹; and from

¹ There must have been some misunderstanding either of the *extent* of the question, or the *nature* of the answer in that part of a conversation which Mr. Campbell, in his *Life of Hugh Boyd*, states to have occurred between Mr. H. S. Woodfall, (editor and one of the proprietors of the *Public Advertiser*,) and himself, in relation to the preservation of these autographs. "I proceeded," says Mr. Campbell, "to ask him if he had preserved any of the manuscripts of JUNIUS? He said *he had not*." p. 164. The veracity of Mr. H. S. Woodfall is well known to have been unimpeachable; and it is by no means the intention of the editor to suspect that of Mr. Campbell. It is probable that Mr. Woodfall understood the question to be whether he had *regularly* preserved the manuscripts of JUNIUS, or had preserved any of the manuscripts of JUNIUS which had publicly appeared *under that signature*? No man, not even Mr. Campbell himself could have suspected Mr. Woodfall to have been guilty of a wilful falsehood; nor can any advantage be assigned or even conceived that could possibly have resulted from such a falsehood, had it taken place.

It is equally extraordinary that Mr. Campbell, in this same conversation, should represent Mr. Woodfall as saying that "as to the story about Hamilton quoting JUNIUS to the late Duke of Richmond, *he knew* it to be a misconception." In regard

the various facts and anecdotes they disclose, not only in relation to this extraordinary character, but to other characters as well, they cannot fail of being highly interesting to the political world. To have published these letters at an earlier period would have been a gross breach of trust and decorum: the term of trust, however, seems at length to have expired; most of the parties have paid the debt of nature, and should any be yet living, the length of time which has since elapsed has so completely blunted the asperity of the strictures they

regard to the story itself, Woodfall knew it to be founded in fact from Hamilton's own relation—and has repeatedly mentioned it as such; but he may have meant that the story *as told by Mr. Campbell*, was a misconception.

In effect the late Duke of Richmond himself distinctly informed the son of the late Mr. Woodfall, that such a communication with Hamilton had taken place, while his Grace was riding with Sir John Peachey, afterwards Lord Selsca, in the park at Goodwood, though he could not at that distance of time recollect the particular letter to which it referred. The clue to the mystery is that Mr. Hamilton was acquainted with the late Mr. H. S. Woodfall, and used occasionally to call at his office; whence it is highly probable that Mr. Woodfall had shewn him or detailed to him a Letter from JUNIUS then just received, and intended for publication on a certain day. Hamilton alluded to the general purport of this letter, on the day on which it was to have been published as though he had just read it; when to the astonishment of his Grace and Sir John Peachey, to whom he thus mentioned it, no such letter appeared, though it did appear the next day or the day after.

contain, that they could scarcely object to so remote a publication of them. JUNIUS, in the career of his activity, was the man of the people; and when the former can receive no injury from the disclosure, the latter have certainly a claim to every information that can be communicated concerning him.

It was on the 28th of April, in the year 1767, that the late Mr. H. S. Woodfall, received amidst other letters from a great number of correspondents for the use of the Public Advertiser of which he was a proprietor, the first public address of this celebrated writer. He had not then assumed the name, or rather written under the signature of Junius; nor did he always indeed assume a signature of any kind. When he did so, however, his signatures were diversified, and the chief of them were Mnemon and Atticus, Lucius, Junius, and Brutus. Under the first he sarcastically opposed the ministry upon the subject of the Nullum Tempus bill, which involved the celebrated dispute concerning the transfer on the part of the crown of the Duke of Portland's estate of the forest of Inglewood, and the manor and castle of Carlisle, to Sir James Lowther, son-in-law of Lord Bute, upon the plea that these lands, which formerly belonged to the crown, had not been duly specified in king 'William's grant of them to the Portland

family ; and that hence, although they had been in the Portland family for nearly seventy years, they of right belonged to the crown still. The letters signed Atticus and Brutus relate chiefly to the growing disputes with the American colonies : and those subscribed Lucius exclusively to the outrageous dismissal of Sir Jeffery Amherst from his post of governor of Virginia.

The name of Mnemon seems to have been nearly taken up at hazard. That of Atticus was unquestionably assumed from the author's own opinion of the purity of his style, an opinion in which the public universally concurred : and the three remaining signatures of Lucius, Junius, and Brutus were obviously deduced from a veneration for the memory of the celebrated Roman patriot, who united these three names in his own.

There were also a variety of other names occasionally assumed by this fertile political writer, to answer particular purposes, or more completely to conceal himself, and carry forward his extensive design. That of Philo-Junius, he has avowed to the public, in the authorized edition of the Letters of JUNIUS : but besides this they have yet to recognize him under the mask of Poplicola, Domitian, Vindex, and a variety of others, as the subjoined pages will sufficiently testify.

The most popular of our author's letters anterior to those published with the signature of

JUNIUS in 1769, were those subscribed **Atticus** and **Lucius**; to the former of which the few letters signed **Brutus** seem to have been little more than auxiliary, and are consequently not polished with an equal degree of attention. These letters, in point of time, preceded those with the signature of **JUNIUS** by a few weeks: they are certainly written with admirable spirit and perspicuity, and are entitled to all the popularity they acquired:—yet they are not perhaps possess of more merit than our author's letters signed **Mnemon**. They nevertheless deserve a more minute attention from their superior celebrity. The proofs of their having been composed by the writer denominated **JUNIUS** are incontestible: the manner, the phraseology, the sarcastic, exprobratory style, independently of any other evidence, sufficiently identify them¹. These

¹ That those under the signature of **Lucius** were early and generally traced to the pen of **JUNIUS** even by writers of the opposite party, may be fairly inferred from the following passage in a letter in the *Public Advertiser* of the date of April 27th, 1769, signed "A long forgotten correspondent" intended as an antidote to the poison that **JUNIUS** was supposed to be propagating.

"In the warm and energetic, though keen and sarcastic style of **JUNIUS**, we may, I think, easily descry the **Lucius**, long dreaded by his opponents; and from the warmth of his sentiments, if they do indeed correspond with his expressions, we may expect a future **Brutus**, a patriotic character much to be dreaded by all those who, content with the portion of power

now

therefore are now added, together with such others whose genuineness is equally indisputable,

now in the hands of government, (if government had the spirit to exert it) wish not to see the people, by their factious and unmeaning rage, provoke their long-suffering Sovereign to throw real chains over them, and correct their madness with stripes and hunger, the proper cure for phrenzy, the only specific for such headstrong and vicious insanity."

The celebrity acquired by these earlier letters of JUNIUS, under the signature of Lucius, induced several other writers of the same period to adopt the same signature; and hence Lucius, and Lucius Verus are common signatures in the Public Advertiser during the years 1769, 1770. But there is no more reason to suppose that JUNIUS himself ever had recourse to this signature than he had to that of Atticus, or Brutus, after the assumption of this last appellative. He would not degrade the name of Lucius by an unfinished production, and to all that he regarded as *finished* he continued to subscribe JUNIUS as a still more popular signature.

An attempt, also, for the same reason, was once made by another correspondent, to publish under the signature of JUNIUS; but the letter was refused to be inserted with that name by the printer, who signified his refusal in one of his notices to his correspondents. Yet it is curious to observe, that one or two spurious letters under the signature of Philo-Junius, found their way, as genuine epistles, into the P. A. (probably from casual absence of the editor) if we may determine from the following statement written immediately after JUNIUS's public avowal that the letters subscribed Philo-Junius were his own productions.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

A paragraph having appeared in your paper of Saturday last, intimating that "you have the author's consent to

to the acknowledged letters of JUNIUS, to render his productions complete'.

to declare that the letters published in that paper under the signature of Philo-Junius are 'written by JUNIUS,' I take the liberty of acquainting you and the public, that during the course of the years 1768 and 1769 several letters under that signature were written and inserted in the Public Advertiser, not by JUNIUS, but by

Your humble servant,

Oct. 21, 1771.

G. F.

" [The printer presumes not to doubt the assertion of his correspondent, though it is not possible for him to charge his memory with the circumstances at this distance of time.] " The printer might, however, with great safety have denied this assertion of G. F. which on the face of it bears evident marks of inaccuracy, as the first letter of JUNIUS published in the genuine edition bears date January 21, 1769, and the only one under that signature printed in 1768 is Miscellaneous Letter, No. LII. which did not receive support from an auxiliary signature of any kind. The fact is that the only Philo-Junius not genuine is the one here more particularly alluded to. Philo-Junius, No. xxxi. was originally published in the Public Advertiser under the signature of Moderatus.

' When the late Mr. Woodfall, so early as the summer of 1769, had an intention of re-publishing such of the Letters of JUNIUS as had already appeared in the Public Advertiser, the author, in Private Letter, No. 7, observed to the printer, " Do with my letters exactly what you please. I should think that to make a better figure than Newberry, some others of my letters may be added, and so throw out an hint, that you have reason to suspect they are by the same author. If you adopt this plan, I shall point out those which I would recommend; for, you know, I do not, nor indeed have I time to give equal care to them all."

It is no objection to their being genuine that they were omitted by JUNIUS in his own edition published by Mr. Woodfall :—there is a material difference between printing a complete edition of the letters of JUNIUS, and a complete edition of the letters of the writer of this name. The first was the main object of JUNIUS himself, and it was not necessary therefore, that he should have extended it to letters composed by him under any other signature, excepting indeed those of Philo-Junius, which it was expedient for him to avow ; the second is the direct design of the edition before us ;—and it would be inconsistent with it to suppress any of his letters, under what signature soever they may have appeared, that possess sufficient interest to excite the attention of the public.

The first of the letters (signed Atticus) was written in the beginning of August, 1768. It takes a general, and by no means an uncandid, survey of the state of the nation at that period, and particularly in regard to its funded property, the alarming and dangerous depression of which, from the still hostile appearance of France, the prospect of a rupture with the American colonies, the wretchedness of the public finances, and the imbecility of the existing administration, struck the writer so forcibly as to induce him, as

he tells us, to transfer his property from the funds to what he conceived the more solid security of landed estate. The conclusion of this letter exhibits so much of the essential style and manner of JUNIUS, that it has every claim to be copied in this place as affording an internal proof of identity of pen.

“ We are arrived at that point when new taxes either produce nothing, or defeat the old ones, and when new duties only operate as a prohibition: yet these are the times when every ignorant boy thinks himself fit to be a minister. Instead of attendance to objects of national importance, our worthy governors are contented to divide their time between private pleasures and ministerial intrigues. Their activity is just equal to the persecution of a prisoner in the King’s Bench, and to the honourable struggle of providing for their dependents. If there be a good man in the king’s service they dismiss him of course; and when bad news arrives, instead of uniting to consider of a remedy, their time is spent in accusing and reviling one another. Thus the debate concludes in some half misbegotten measure, which is left to execute itself. *Away they go: one retires to his country house; another is engaged at an horse race; a third has an appointment with a prosti-*

tute ;—and as to their country, they leave her, like, a cast off mistress, to perish under the diseases they have given her.”

It was just at this period that the very extraordinary step occurred of the dismissal of Sir Jeffery Amherst from his government of Virginia, for the sole purpose, as it should seem, of creating a post for the Earl of Hillsborough's intimate friend Lord Botetourt, who had completely ruined himself by gambling and extravagance. This post had been expressly given to Sir Jeffery for life, as a reward for his past services in America, and it was punctiliously stipulated that a personal residence would be dispensed with. It was an atrocity well worthy of public attack and condemnation; and the keen vigilance of JUNIUS, which seems first to have traced it out, hastened to expose it to the public in all its indecency and outrage, and with the warmth of a personal friendship for the veteran hero. The subject being of a different description from that he had engaged in under the signature of Atticus, he assumed a new name, and for the first time sallied forth under that of Lucius, subscribed to a letter addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough, minister for the American department, and published in the Public Advertiser Aug. 10th, 1768. A vindication, or rather an apology, was entered into, by three

or four correspondents under different signatures, but almost every one of whom was regarded by JUNIUS, and indeed by the public at large, as the Earl of Hillsborough himself, or some individual writer under his immediate controul, assuming a mere diversity of mask the better to accomplish the purpose of a defence. Lucius Junius followed up the contest without sparing, —the minister became ashamed of his conduct, and Sir Jeffery, within a few weeks after his dismissal and the resignation of two regiments which he commanded, was restored to the command of one of them, and appointed to that of another; and in May, 1776, was created a peer of the realm, which the Duke of Grafton had refused him, under the strange and impolitic assertion that he had not fortune enough to maintain such a dignity with the splendour it required. The sarcastic remark of Lucius upon this observation of his Grace, is entitled to attention, as identifying him with JUNIUS in his peculiar severity of reproach.

“ The Duke of Grafton’s idea of the proper object of a British peerage differs very materially from mine. His Grace, in the true spirit of business, looks for nothing but an opulent fortune; meaning, I presume, the fortune which can purchase, as well as maintain a title. We understand his Grace, and know who dictated that

article. He has declared the terms on which • Jews, gamesters, pedlars, and contractors, (if they have sense enough to take the hint) may rise without difficulty into British Peers. There was a time indeed, though not within his Grace's memory, when titles were the reward of public virtue, and when the crown did not think its revenue ill employed in contributing to support the honours it had bestowed. It is true his Grace's family derive *their* wealth and greatness from a different origin, from a system which he, it seems, is determined to revive. His confession is frank, and well becomes the candour of a young man, at least. I dare say, that if either his Grace or your Lordship had had the command of a seven years' war in America, you would have taken care that poverty, however honourable, should not have been an objection to your advancement;—you would not have stood in the predicament of Sir Jeffery Amherst, who is refused a title of honour, because he did not create a fortune equal to it, at the expense of the public."

He is not less severe upon Lord Hillsborough in a succeeding letter; and the editor extracts the following passage for the same purpose he has introduced the preceding.

"That you are a civil, polite person is true. Few men understand the little morals better or

observe the great ones less than your Lordship. You can bow and smile in an honest man's face, while you pick his pocket. These are the virtues of a court, in which your education has not been neglected. In any other school you might have learned that simplicity and integrity are worth them all. Sir Jeffery Amherst was fighting the battles of his country, while you, my Lord, the darling child of prudence and urbanity, were practising the generous arts of a courtier, and securing an honourable interest in the antichamber of a favourite."

Having thus signally triumphed in the affair of Sir Jeffery Amherst, our invisible state-satyrist now returned to the subject he had commenced under the signature of Atticus, and pursued it in three additional letters, with the same signature, from the beginning of October till the close of November, in the same year; offering a few general remarks upon collateral topics in two or three letters signed Brutus. The characteristics of JUNIUS are here often as conspicuous as in any letters he ever wrote: it will be sufficient to confine ourselves to two passages, since two competent witnesses are as good as a thousand. The following is his description of the prime minister of the day.

"When the Duke of Grafton first entered into office, it was the fashion of the times to

suppose that young men might have wisdom without experience. They thought so themselves, and the most important affairs of this country were committed to the first trial of their abilities. His Grace had honourably fleshed his maiden sword in the field of opposition, and had gone through all the discipline of the minority with credit. He dined at Wildman's, railed at favorites, looked up to Lord Chatham with astonishment, and was the declared advocate of Mr. Wilkes. It afterwards pleased his Grace to enter into administration with his friend Lord Rockingham, and in a very little time, it pleased his Grace to abandon him. He then accepted of the treasury upon terms which Lord Temple had disdained. For a short time his submission to Lord Chatham was unlimited. He could not answer a private letter without Lord Chatham's permission. I presume he was then learning his trade, for he soon set up for himself. Until he declared himself the minister, his character had been but little understood. From that moment a system of conduct, directed by passion and caprice, not only reminds us that he is a young man, but a young man without solidity of judgment. One day he desponds and threatens to resign, the next he finds his blood heated, and swears to his friends he is determined to go on. In his public measures we have seen no proof

either of ability or consistency. The Stamp-act had been repealed (no matter how unwisely) under the preceding administration. The colonies had reason to triumph, and were returning to their good humour. The point was decided, when this young man thought proper to revive it without either plan or necessity; he adopts the spirit of Mr. Grenville's measures, and renews the question of taxation in a form more odious and less effectual than that of the law which had been repealed."

The following is his character of the members of the cabinet generally, "The school they were bred in taught them how to abandon their friends, without deserting their principles. There is a littleness even in their ambition; for money is their first object. Their professed opinions upon some great points are so different from those of the party, with which they are now united, that the council chamber is become a scene of open hostilities. While the fate of Great Britain is at stake, these worthy counsellors dispute without decency, advise without sincerity, resolve without decision, and leave the measure to be executed by the man who voted against it. This, I conceive, is the last disorder of the state. The consultation meets but to disagree, opposite medicines are prescribed, and the last fixed on is changed by the hand who gives it,"

The attention paid to these philippics, and the celebrity they had so considerably acquired, stimulated the author to new and additional exertions: and having in the beginning of the ensuing year completed another with more than usual elaboration and polish, which he seems to have intended as a kind of introductory address to the nation at large, he sent it forth under the name of JUNIUS, (a name he had hitherto assumed but once,) to the office of the Public Advertiser, in which journal it appeared on Saturday, January 21, 1769. The popularity expected by the author from this performance was more than accomplished; and what in some measure added to his fame, was a reply (for the Public Advertiser was equally open to all parties) from a real character of no small celebrity as a scholar, as well as a man of rank, Sir Wm. Draper; principally because the attack upon his Majesty's ministers had extended itself to Lord Granby, at that time commander in chief, for whom Sir William professed the most cordial esteem and friendship.

Sir Wm. Draper appears, to have been a worthy, and, on the whole, an independent man; and Lord Granby was perhaps the most honest and immaculate of his Majesty's ministers. JUNIUS did not begin the dispute with the former, and seems from a regard for his character, to have continued it unwillingly: "My answer,"

says he to him in his last letter¹, upon a second assault, and altogether without reason, “shall be short; for I write to you *with reluctance*, and I hope we shall now conclude our correspondence for ever!” At the latter he had only glanced incidentally, (for upon the whole he approved his conduct²;) and seems rather to have done so from the company he consorted with, than from any gross misdeeds of his own. Nothing could therefore have been more improvident or impolitic than this attack of Sir Wm. Draper: if volunteered in favour of the ministry, it is impossible for a defence to have been worse planned;—for by confining the vindication to the individual that was least accused, it tacitly admitted that the charges advanced against all the rest were well founded; while, if volunteered in favour of Lord Granby alone, it might easily have been anticipated by the writer that his visionary opponent would be hereby challenged to bring forward peccadillos which would otherwise never have been heard of, and that he would not fail at the same time, to scrutinize the character of Sir William himself, and to ascribe this act of precipitate zeal to an interested

¹ Letter xxv. Vol. II. p. 5.

² See his opinion of Lord Granby given under the name of Lucius, in Miscellaneous Letters of this writer, Vol. III. p. 107, as also in the note at the close of JUNIUS, Vol. I. p. 105.

desire of additional promotion in the army. It was too much for Sir William to expect that JUNIUS would be hurried into an intemperate disclosure of his real name by a swaggering offer to measure swords with him; while the following rebuke was but a just retaliation for his challenge.

“Had you been originally and without provocation attacked by an anonymous writer, you would have some right to demand his name. But in this cause you are a volunteer. You engaged in it with the unpremeditated gallantry of a soldier. You were content to set your name in opposition to a man who would probably continue in concealment. You understood the terms upon which we were to correspond, and gave at least a tacit assent to them. After voluntarily attacking me under the character of JUNIUS, what possible right have you to know me under any other? Will you forgive me if I insinuate to you, that you foresaw some honour in the apparent spirit of coming forward in person, and that you were not quite indifferent to the display of your literary qualifications?”

In reality JUNIUS, though a severe satirist, was not in his general temper a malevolent writer, nor an ungenerous man. No one has ever been more ready to admit the brilliant talents of Sir William Blackstone than himself, or to ap-

ply to his Commentaries for legal information, while reprobating his conduct in the unconstitutional expulsion of Mr. Wilkes from the House of Commons. "If I were personally your enemy," says he in his letter to him upon this subject, "I should dwell with a malignant pleasure upon *those great and useful qualifications which you certainly possess*, and by which you once acquired, though they could not preserve to you the respect and esteem of your country. I should enumerate the honours you have lost, and the virtues you have disgraced: but having no private resentments to gratify, I think it sufficient to have given my opinion of your public conduct, leaving the punishment it deserves to your closet and to yourself."

The rescue of General Gansel, by means of a party of guards, from the hands of the Sheriff's officers after they had arrested him for debt, was an outrage upon the law which well demanded castigation; and the attempt to quash this transaction on the part of the minister, instead of delivering the culprits over to the punishment they had merited, was an outrage of at least equal atrocity, and demanded equal reprobation. The severity with which the minister was repeatedly attacked by JUNIUS on this subject is still well known to many: but the reason is not yet known to any one perhaps, why he suddenly

dropped this subject, after having positively declared in his letter of November 15, 1769. Vol. II. p. 51, "if the gentlemen, whose conduct is in question, are not brought to a trial, the Duke of Grafton shall hear from me again." From his Private Letters to Mr. Woodfall, we shall now learn that he was solely actuated in his forbearance by motives of humanity: "The only thing," says he, in a note alluding to this transaction, "that hinders my pushing the subject of my last letter, is really the fear of ruining that poor devil Gansel, and those other blockheads".

In like manner having been betrayed by the first rumours of the day into what he afterwards found to have been too atrocious an opinion, and expressed himself with too indignant a warmth upon the conduct of Mr. Vaughan in his well known attempt to purchase of the Duke of Grafton the reversion of a patent place in Jamaica, he hastened to make him both publicly and privately all the reparation in his power. "I think myself obliged," says he, in a letter to the Duke of Grafton, "to do this justice to an injured man, because I was deceived by the appearances thrown out by your Grace, and have frequently spoken of his conduct with indignation. If he really be, what I think him, honest,

¹ See Private Letters, No. 11.

though mistaken, he will be happy in recovering his reputation, though at the expense of his understanding¹." Vaughan himself had so high an opinion of our author's integrity, though a total stranger to him, that he entrusted him with his private papers upon the subject in question, which JUNIUS in return took care to employ to Vaughan's advantage².

From the extraordinary effect produced by his first letter under the signature of JUNIUS, he resolved to adhere to this signature exclusively, in all his subsequent letters, in which he took more than ordinary pains, and which alone he was desirous of being attributed to himself; while to other letters composed with less care, and merely explanatory of passages in his more finished addresses, or introduced for some other collateral purpose, he subscribed some random name which occurred to him at the moment. The letters of Philo-Junius are alone an exception to this remark. These he always intended to acknowledge; and in truth they are for the most part composed with so much of the pecu-

¹ Vol. II. p. 101.

² Compare his private letter to Woodfall, Dec. 12, 1769. No. 15. with his public letter to the Duke of Grafton, February 14, 1770, after he had examined these papers, and especially the passage, "You laboured then, by every species of false suggestion, and even by publishing counterfeit letters, &c." Vol. II. p. 101.

liar style, and finished accuracy of the letters of JUNIUS, properly so called, that it would have required but little discernment to have regarded the two correspondents as the same person under different characters,—*idem et alter*—if JUNIUS himself had not at length admitted them to be his own productions which he expressly did, in an authorized note from the printer, inserted in the Public Advertiser, October 19, 1771. “The auxiliary part of Philo-Junius,” says he in his Preface, page 10, “was indispensably necessary to defend or explain particular passages in JUNIUS, in answer to plausible objections; but the subordinate character is never guilty of the indecorum of praising his principal. The fraud was innocent, and I always intended to explain it.” Yet whatever were the signatures he assumed, or the loose paragraphs he occasionally addressed to the public, without a signature of any kind, we have his own assertion, that from the time of his corresponding, as JUNIUS, with the editor of the Public Advertiser, he never wrote in any other newspaper. “I believe,” says he, “I need not assure you that I have never written in any other paper since I began with yours;” Private Letter, No. 7. So also in another Private Letter, No. 13. “I sometimes change my signature; but could have no reason to *change the paper*; especially for one that does not circulate half as much as yours.” •

That he was not only a man of highly cultivated general talents and education, but had critically and successfully studied the language, the law, the constitution, and history of his native country is indubitable. Yet this is not all; the proofs are just as clear that he was also a man of independent fortune, that he moved in the immediate circle of the court, and was intimately acquainted, from its first conception, with almost every public measure, every ministerial intrigue, and every domestic incident.

That he was a man of easy, if not of affluent circumstances, is unquestionable from the fact that he never could be induced in any way or shape to receive any acknowledgment from the proprietor of the Public Advertiser, for the great benefit and popularity he conferred on this paper by his writings, and to which he was fairly entitled. When the first genuine edition of his letters was on the point of publication, Mr. Woodfall again urged him either to accept half its profits, or to point out some public charity or other institution to which an equal sum might be presented. His reply to this request is contained in a paragraph of one of his Private Letters, No. 59. and confers credit on both the parties. "What you say about the profits is very handsome. I like to

deal with such men. As for myself be assured, that *I am far above all pecuniary views*, and no other person I think has any claim to share with you. Make the most of it, therefore; and let your views in life be directed to a solid, however moderate independence: without it no man can be happy nor even honest." In this last sentence he reasoned from the sphere of life in which he was accustomed to move; and, confining it to this sphere, the transactions of every day shew us that he reasoned correctly. It is an additional proof, as well of his affluence, as of his generosity, that not long after the commencement of his correspondence with the printer of the Public Advertiser, he wrote to him as follows: "For the matter of assistance, be assured that, if a question should arise upon any writings of my mine, you shall not want it;—in point of money be assured you shall never suffer." In perfect and honourable consonance with which, when the printer was at length involved in a prosecution in consequence of JUNIUS's letter to the King, he wrote to him as follows: "If your affair should come to a trial, and you should be found guilty, you will then let me know what expense falls particularly on yourself: for I understand you

Private Letter, No. 6. dated Aug. 6, 1769.

are engaged with other proprietors. Some way or other *you* shall be reimbursed."

"As you have told us," says Sir W. Draper, in his last letter to JUNIUS, "of your importance; and that you are a person of *rank* and *fortune*, and above a *common* bribe, you may, in all probability, be not unknown to his Lordship (Earl of Shelburne) who can satisfy you of the truth of what I say¹." Sir William alludes, in this passage, to a short public note of JUNIUS to the printer of the Public Advertiser, addressed in consequence of some verses which had just appeared in that paper, entitled "The tears of Sedition on the death of JUNIUS;" in which he observes: "It is true I have refused offers which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted. Whether it be simplicity or virtue in me, I can only affirm that *I am in earnest*, because I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present ministry is driving this country to destruction; and *you*, I think, Sir, may be satisfied that my rank and fortune place me above a common bribe²." Sir William sneers at the appeal, and treats it as the mere unfounded boast of a man of arrogance and invisibility:

¹ Private Letter, No. 19.

² Vol. II. p. 3.

³ See Miscellaneous Letters, No. LIV. Vol. III. p. 197.

but the reader now sees sufficiently that it had a solid foundation to rest upon.

That JUNIUS moved in the immediate circle of the court, and was intimately and confidentially connected, either directly or indirectly, with all the public offices of government, is, if possible, still clearer than that he was a man of independent property; for the feature that peculiarly characterized him, at the time of his writing, and that cannot even now be contemplated without surprise, was the facility with which he became acquainted with every ministerial manœuvre, whether public or private, from almost the very instant of its conception. At the first moment the partisans of the prime minister were extolling his official integrity and virtue, in not only resisting the terms offered by Mr. Vaughan for the purchase of the reversion of a patent-place in Jamaica, but in commencing a prosecution against him for thus attempting to corrupt him, JUNIUS, in his letter of Nov. 29, 1769, Vol. II. p. 52, exposed this affectation of coyness, as he calls it, by proving that the minister was not only privy to, but a party concerned in, the sale of another patent place, though the former had often been disposed of before in a manner somewhat if not altogether similar. The particulars of this transaction are given in his letter

to the Duke of Grafton, Dec. 12, 1769, Vol. II. p. 54, and in his private note to Mr. Woodfall of the same date, No. 15. The rapidity with which the affair of General Gansell reached him has been already noticed. In his letter to the Duke of Bedford he narrates facts which could scarcely be known but to persons immediately acquainted with the family. And when the printer was threatened with a prosecution in consequence of this letter, he says to him in a private note, "it is clearly my opinion that you have nothing to fear from the Duke of Bedford. I reserve some things expressly to awe him in case he should think of bringing you before the House of Lords. I am sure I can threaten him privately with such a storm as would make him tremble even in his grave¹." He was equally acquainted with the domestic concerns of Lord Hartford's family². Of a Mr. Swinney, a cor-

¹ Private Letter, No. 10.

² The following are two of the paragraphs alluded to in Private Letter, No. 42.

The Earl of Hartford is most honourably employed as terrier to find out the clergyman that married the Duke of Cumberland, an errand well fitted to the man. He might, however, be much better employed in marrying his daughters at the public expense. Witness the promise of an Irish peerage to Mr. S—t, &c. &c.

• Nobody is so vociferous as the Earl of Hartford on the subject of the late unprecedented marriage!

respondent of the printer's, he observes in another confidential letter, "*That Swinney is a wretched but a dangerous fool : he had the impudence to go to Lord Sackville, whom he had never spoken to, and to ask him whether or no he was the author of JUNIUS—take care of him*." This anecdote is not a little curious : the fact was true, and occurred but a day or two before the letter was written : but how JUNIUS, unless he had been Lord Sackville himself, should have been so soon acquainted with it, baffles all conjecture. In reality several persons to whom this transaction has been related, connecting it with other circumstances of a similar tendency, have ventured, but too precipitately, to attribute the letters of JUNIUS to his Lordship².

¹ Private Letter, No. 5.

² In the Miscellaneous Letters, No. VII. Vol. II. p. 491, the reader will meet with the following passage, pretty conclusively shewing the little ground there ever has been for any such opinion. "I believe the best thing I can do will be to consult with Lord G. Sackville. His character is known and respected in Ireland as much as it is here ; and I know he loves to be stationed in the rear as well as myself." The letter from which the above is an extract, independently of its containing the style and sentiments of JUNIUS, is thus additionally brought home to him by the printer's customary acknowledgment in the P. A. being followed by the subjoined observation : " Our friend and correspondent C. will always find the utmost attention paid to his favours."

His secret intelligence respecting public transactions is as extraordinary. The accuracy with which he first dragged to general notice the dismissal of Sir Jeffery Amherst from his governorship of Virginia has been already glanced at. "You may assure the public," says he, in a Private Letter, Jan. 17, 1771, "that a squadron of four ships of the line is ordered to be got ready with *all possible expedition* for the East Indies. It is to be commanded by Commodore Spry. Without regarding the language of ignorant or interested people, depend upon the assurance *I* give you, that every man in administration looks upon war as inevitable."

But it would be endless to detail every instance of early and accurate information upon political subjects with which his public and private letters abound. In many cases he was able to indicate even to the printer of the Public Advertiser himself the real names of those who corresponded with him under fictitious signatures. "Your Veridicus," says he, in one letter,

¹ Private Letter, No. 28. The knowledge of this preparation was communicated four days before the meeting of parliament: the war however did not take place; but the preparation is now known to have been a fact, the ministry being themselves fearful that the temper of parliament would have forced them into hostilities, from which in truth they very narrowly escaped. See note to the Private Letter of this No.

“ is Mr. Whitworth¹. I assure you I have not confided in him².” “ Your Lycurgus,” he observes in another letter³, “ is a Mr. Kent, a young man of good parts upon town.”

Thus widely informed, and applying the information he was possessed of with an unsparing hand, to purposes of general exposure in every instance of political delinquency, it cannot but be supposed that JUNIUS must have excited a host of enemies in every direction, and that his safety, perhaps his existence depended alone upon his concealment.⁴ Of this he was sufficiently sensible. In his last letter to Sir W. Draper, who had endeavoured by every means to stimulate him to a disclosure of himself, he observes, “ As to me, it is by no means necessary that I should be exposed to the resentment of the worst and the most powerful men in this country, though I may be indifferent about yours. Though you would *fight*, there are others who would *assassinate*⁵.” To the same effect is the following passage in a confidential letter to Mr. Woodfall. “ I must be more cautious than ever : I am sure I should not survive a discovery three days ; or, if I did, they would attain me by bill⁶.” On

¹ Richard Whitworth, Esq. M. P. for Stafford.

² Private Letter, No. 6. ³ Id. No. 5. ⁴ Vol II. p. 5.

⁵ Private Letter, No. 41.

many occasions, therefore, notwithstanding all the calmness and intrepidity he affected in his public letters, it is not to be wondered at that he should betray some feelings of apprehension in his confidential intercourse. In one of his Private Letters, indeed, he observes, "As to me be assured it is not in the nature of things that they (the Cavendish family) or you or any body else should ever know me, unless I make myself known : all arts, or enquiries, or rewards, would be equally ineffectual." But in other letters he seems not a little afraid of detection or surmise. "Tell me candidly," he says, at an early period of his correspondence with Mr. Woodfall under the signature of JUNIUS, "whether you know or suspect who I am²." "You must not write to me again," he observes in another letter, "but be assured I will never desert you³." "Upon no account, nor for any reason whatever are you to write to me until I give you notice⁴." "Change to the Somerset Coffee-house, and let no mortal know the alteration. I am persuaded you are too honest a man to contribute in any way to my destruction. Act honourably by me, and at a proper time you shall know me⁵."

¹ Private Letter, No. 10.

² Id. No. 3.

³ Id. No. 18.

⁴ Id. No. 47.

⁵ Id. No. 41.

The Somerset Coffee-house formed only one of a great variety of places, at which answers and other parcels from the printer of the Public Advertiser were ordered to be left. No plan indeed could be better devised for secrecy than that by which this correspondence was maintained. A common name, such as was by no means likely to excite any peculiar attention, was first chosen by JUNIUS and a common place of deposit indicated:—the parcels from JUNIUS himself were sent direct to the printing-office, and whenever a parcel or letter in return was waiting for him, it was announced in the notices to correspondents by such signals as “N. F. C.” —“a letter,” “Vindex shall be considered,” “C. in the usual place,” “an old Correspondent shall be attended to,” the introductory C. being a little varied from that commonly used; or by a line of Latin poetry. “Don’t always use,” says our author, “the same signal: any absurd Latin verse will answer the purpose’.” And when

Private Letter, No. 43.—As instances of these signals of different kinds the reader may accept the following, taken from the Public Advertiser according to their dates.

August 12. 1771. A Correspondent may rest assured that his directions ever have been, and ever will be, strictly attended to.

September 13.	C.
17.	C.
21.	C.

September

the answer implied a mere negative or affirmative, it was communicated in the newspaper by a simple *yes* or *no*. The names of address more commonly assumed were Mr. William Middleton, or Mr. John Fretly, and the more common places of address were the bar of the Somerset Coffee-house as stated above, of the New Exchange, or Munday's in Maiden Lane, the waiters of which were occasionally feed' for their punctuality. But these too were varied for other names and places of abode as circumstances might dictate.

By what conveyance JUNIUS obtained his letters and parcels from the places at which they

September	27.	C.
October	19.	C.
November	5.	C. ^v
	8.	C.
	12.	Vindex shall be considered.
	21.	Dic quibus in terris, et mihi eris magnus Apollo.
	26.	Quid rides? de TE fabula narratur.
	28.	Received. *
	30.	———dicere verum
		Quid vetat?
December	5.	Jam NOVA progenies cœlo dimittitur alto.
	6.	Received.
		Quis te MAGNE CATO tacitum?
	17.	Infandum, REGINA! jubes renovare dolorem.

* Private Letter, No. 39.

were left for him is not very clearly ascertained. From the passage quoted from his Private Letter, No. 10, as also from the express declaration in the Dedication to his own edition of his letters, that he was at that time "the sole depository of his own secret," it should seem that he had also been uniformly his own messenger: yet in his Private Letter of January 18th, 1772, he observes, "the gentleman who transacts the conveyancing part of our correspondence tells me there was much difficulty last night¹." In truth the difficulty, and danger of his constantly performing his own errand must have been extreme; and it is more reasonable therefore to suppose that he employed some person on whom he could place an implicit reliance; while to avoid the apparent contradiction between such a fact and that of his affirming that he was the sole depository of his own secret, it is only necessary to conceive at the same time that the person thus confidentially employed was not entrusted with the full scope and object of his agency². He

¹ Private Letter, No. 51.

² Mr. Jackson, the present respectable proprietor of the Ipswich Journal, was at this time in the employment of the late Mr. Woodfall, and he observed to the editor, in September last, that he once saw a tall Gentleman dressed in a light coat with bag and sword, throw into the office door opening in Ivy Lane, a letter of JUNIUS's, which he picked up and immediately followed the bearer of it into St. Paul's Church-yard, where he got into

sometimes, as we learn from his own testimony, employed a common chairman as his messenger¹, and perhaps this, after all, was the method most usually resorted to.

That a variety of schemes were invented and actually in motion to detect him there can be no doubt; but the extreme vigilance he at all times evinced, and the honourable forbearance of Mr. Woodfall, enabled him to baffle every effort, and to persevere in his concealment to the last. "Your letter," says he in one of his private notes, "was twice refused last night, and the waiter as often attempted to see the person who sent for it²."

On another occasion his alarm was excited in consequence of various letters addressed to him at the printing-office, with a view as he suspected of leading to a disclosure either of his person or abode. "I return you," says he in reply, "the letters you sent me yesterday. A man who can write neither common English, nor spell, is hardly worth attending to. It is probably a trap for me: I should be glad to know what the fool means. If he writes again, open his letter, and if it contain any thing worth my

into a hackney coach and drove off. But whether this was "the gentleman who transacted the conveyancing part" or JUNIUS himself, it is impossible to ascertain.

¹ See Private Letters, No. 58 and 66 note. ² Id. Ib.

knowing, send it: otherwise not. Instead of 'C. in the usual place' say only 'a letter' when you have occasion to write to me again. I shall understand you'."

Some apprehension he seems to have suffered, as already observed, from the impertinent curiosity of Swinney; but his resentment was chiefly roused by that of David Garrick, who appears from his own account, and from intelligence on which he fully relied, to have been pertinacious in his attempts to discover him. For three weeks or a month, he could scarcely ever write to Mr. Woodfall without cautioning him to be specially on his guard against Garrick: and under this impression alone, he once changed his address¹. He wrote to Garrick a private note of severe castigation through the medium of the printer, which the latter, from an idea that it was unnecessarily acrimonious, resubmitted to his consideration with a view of dissuading him from sending² it, upon which our author desired him to tell Garrick personally to desist or he would be amply revenged upon him. "As it is important," says he, "to deter him from meddling, I desire you will tell him I am aware of his practices, and will certainly be revenged if

¹ Private Letter, No. 12.

² Id. No. 41.

³ Compare Private Letter, No. 41. with No. 43. The letter to Garrick will be found in the former of these.

he does not desist. An appeal to the public from JUNIUS would destroy him¹."

It is not impossible to form a plausible guess at the age of JUNIUS, from a passage in one of his Private Letters; an enquiry, which, though otherwise of little or no consequence, is rendered in some measure important, as a test to determine the validity of the claims that have been laid to his writings by different candidates or their friends. The passage referred to occurs in his letter to Woodfall, dated Nov. 27, 1771; "*after long experience of the world,*" says he, "I affirm before God I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy²." Now when this declaration is coupled with the two facts, that he made it under the repeated promise and intention of speedily disclosing himself to his correspondent³, and that the correspondent thus schooled, by a moral axiom gleaned from his own "*long experience of the world,*" was at this very time something more than thirty years of age; it seems absurd to suppose that JUNIUS could be much less than fifty, or that he affected an age he had not actually attained.

There is another point in the history of his life, during his appearance as a public writer, which for the same reason must not be suffered

¹ Private Letter, No. 43. ² Id. No. 44. ³ Id. No. 41.

to pass by without observation, although otherwise it might be scarcely entitled to notice; and that is, that during a great part of this time, from January, 1769, to January, 1772, he uniformly resided in London, or its immediate vicinity, and that he never quitted his stated habitation for a longer period than a few weeks. This too, we may collect from his private correspondence, compared with his public labours. No man but he, who with a thorough knowledge of our author's style, undertakes to examine all the numbers of the Public Advertiser for the three years in question, can have any idea of the immense fatigue and trouble he submitted to by the composition of other letters, under other signatures, in order to support the pre-eminent pretensions and character of JUNIUS, attacked as it was by a multiplicity of writers in favour of administration, to whom, as JUNIUS, he did not chuse to make any reply whatever. Surely JUNIUS himself, when he first undertook the office of public political censor, could by no means foresee the labour with which he was about to encumber himself. And instead of wondering that he should have disappeared at the distance of about five years, we ought much rather to be surprised that he should have persevered through half this period with a spirit at once so indefatigable and invincible. JUNIUS had no time for remote ex-

cursions, nor often for relaxation, even in the vicinity of the metropolis itself.

Yet from his Private Letters we could almost collect a journal of his absences, if not an itinerary of his little tours: for he does not appear to have left London at any time without some notice to the printer, either of his intention, or of the fact itself upon his return home; independently of which the frequency and regularity of his correspondence seldom allowed of distant travel. "I have been out of town," says he, in his letter of Nov. 8, 1769, "*for three weeks* ; and though I got your last, could not conveniently answer it¹."—On another occasion, "I have been *some days* in the country, and could not conveniently send for your letter 'until this night':" and again, "I must see proof-sheets of the Dedication and Preface; and these, if at all, I must see before the end of next week³." In like manner "I want rest most severely, and am going to find it in the country *for a few days*⁴."

The last political letter that ever issued under the signature of JUNIUS was addressed to Lord Camden. It appeared in the Public Advertiser for Jan. 21, 1772, and followed the publication of his long and elaborate address to Lord Mans-

¹ Private Letter, No. 11. ² Id. No. 7. ³ Id. No. 45.

⁴ Id. No. 43.

field upon the illegal bailing of Eyre ; and was designed to stimulate the noble earl to a renewal of the contest which he had commenced with the chief justice towards the close of the preceding session of parliament. It possesses the peculiarity of being the only encomiastic letter that ever fell from his pen under the signature of JUNIUS. Yet the panegyric bestowed was not for the mere purpose of instigating Lord Camden to the attack in question. There is sufficient evidence in his Private Letters that JUNIUS had a very high, as well as a very just opinion of the integrity of this nobleman ; and an ardent desire that the estimate he had formed of his integrity should be known to the world at large. In the whole course of his political creed there seems to have been but one point upon which they differed, and that was the doctrine assented to by his Lordship, that the crown possesses a power in case of very urgent necessity, of suspending the operation of an act of the legislature. It is a mere speculative doctrine, and JUNIUS only incidentally alluded to it in a letter upon a very different subject¹. The disagreement upon this point seems eagerly to have been caught at, however, by another correspondent in the Public Advertiser, who chose the signature of Scæ-

¹ Letter LIX. Vol. II. p. 344.

vola, apparently for the express purpose of involving the political satirist in a dispute with his lordship. "Scævola," observes he in a private letter, "I see is determined to make me an enemy to Lord Camden. If it be not wilful malice, I beg you will signify to him, that when I originally mentioned Lord Camden's declaration about the corn bill, it was without any view of discussing that doctrine, and only as an instance of a singular opinion maintained by a man of great learning and *integrity*. Such an instance was necessary to the plan of my letter¹." And again, shortly afterwards, finding that the communication had not been received as it ought to have been, "I should not trouble you or myself about that blockhead Scævola, but that his absurd fiction of *my* being Lord Camden's enemy has done harm. Every fool can do mischief, therefore signify to him what I said²." Not satisfied however with this hint to the printer, he chose, at the same time, under the subordinate character of Philo-Junius, to settle the point, and preclude all possibility of altercation by an address to the public, that should dextrously mark out this single difference in a mere speculative opinion; and while it amply defended the view he had taken of the subject, should evince

such an evident approbation of his Lordship's general conduct, as could not fail of being gratifying to him. This letter appeared in the Public Advertiser, Oct. 15, 1771¹.

Lord Camden, however, was not induced by this earnest attempt and last letter of JUNIUS to renew his attack upon Lord Mansfield; yet this was not the reason, or at least not the sole or primary reason for JUNIUS's discontinuing to write. It has already been observed, that so early as July, 1769, he began to entertain thoughts of dropping a character and signature which must have cost him a heavy series of labour, and perhaps not unfrequently exposed him to no small peril. "I really doubt," says he, "whether I shall write any more *under this signature*. I am weary of attacking a set of brutes, whose writings are really too dull to furnish me with even the materials of contention, and whose measures are too gross and direct to be the subject of argument, or to require illustration²."

In perfect consonance with this declaration, in his reply to the printer, who had offered him half the profits of the letters at that time published under his own correction, or an equal sum for the use of any public institution he should chuse to name, he makes the following

¹ Letter LX. Vol. II. p. 360

² Private Letter, No 5

remark, of which a part has been already quoted on another occasion : “ As for myself, be assured that I am *far above* all pecuniary views, and no other person, I think, has any claim to share with you. Make the most of it therefore, and let your views in life be directed to a solid, however moderate, independence: without it no man can be happy, nor even honest. If I saw any prospect of uniting the city once more, I would readily continue to labour in the vineyard. Whenever Mr. Wilkes can tell me that such an union is in prospect, he shall hear of me. *Quod si quis existimat me aut voluntate esse mutata, aut debilitatâ virtute, aut animo fracto, vehementer errat*’.”

Even so long afterwards as January 19, 1773, in the very last letter we have any certain knowledge he ever addressed to Mr. Woodfall, he urges precisely the same motives for his continuing to desist. “ I have seen the signals thrown out for your old friend and correspondent. Be assured I have had good reason for not complying with them. In the present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle that run mad through the city, or as any of your wise aldermen. *I meant*

² Private Letter, No. 59. “ But if any one believes me to be changed in will, weakened in integrity, or broken in courage, he errs grossly.”

the cause and the public: BOTH ARE GIVEN UP. I feel for the honour of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike vile and contemptible. You have never flinched that I know of: I shall always rejoice to hear of your prosperity. If you have any thing to communicate of moment to yourself, you may use the last address and give a hint¹.

¹ Private Letter, N^o. 63. The signal here referred to were thrown out on the very morning of the day on which this letter was written, and consisted of the following Latin quotation, inserted in the Public Advertiser for January 19, 1773, among the other answers to correspondents. *Iterumque, iterumque monebo*. The printer, within a few weeks afterwards, availed himself of the liberty of making a communication to JUNIUS by the last address, and in the Public Advertiser of March 8, gave the following hint: "The letter from AN OLD FRIEND AND CORRESPONDENT, dated January 19, came safe to hand, and his directions are strictly followed. *Quod si quis existimat aut, &c.*" The quotation is peculiarly happy: for it is not only a copy of what JUNIUS had cited himself in his last Private Letter but one, and was hence sure to attract his attention, but is a smart replication to the passage in the letter it immediately refers to, "You have never flinched that I know of." The subject of some part of the communication at this time made by the printer to JUNIUS, the editor has been able to discover, by having accidentally found among Mr. Woodfall's papers, and in his own hand-writing, a rough draft of one of the three letters of which it appears to have consisted. This letter the reader will meet with in the private

In effect from the dissolution of the consolidated Whig party upon the death of George Grenville, the absurd divisions in the Bill of Rights Society, and the political separations in the city, our author had much reason to despair of the cause in which he had so manfully engaged.

To the moral character of JUNIUS this letter is of more value than all the popular addresses he ever composed in his life. It is impossible to suppose it to flow from the affectation of an honesty which did not exist in his heart. The circumstances under which it was sent altogether prohibit such an idea: unknown as he was, and

private correspondence, arranged according to its date, which is March 7, 1778, the day antecedent to the public notice given in the Public Advertiser as above. Among the answers to correspondents March 20, we find another signal of the very same kind in the following terms, "*Aut voluntate esse mutata;*" and in the same place March 29, a third ensign under the following form, "*Aut debilitata virtute;*" both of which it will be observed, upon a comparison, are verbal continuations of JUNIUS's own quotation, and hence, identify with double force the person to whom they relate. In the Public Advertiser of April 7, we find the following signal of a similar description, and it is the last we have been able to discover, "*Dic quibus in terris.*" It is probable that these all related to matters of a personal concern, upon which, by the above private letter, the printer had still leave to address his correspondent: at least there is no reason for believing that JUNIUS ever broke through the silence upon which he so inflexibly determined on January 19, or consented to re-appear before the public in any character

unknown as he had now determined to continue, to his correspondent, there was no adequate motive for his assuming the semblance of an integrity which he felt not, and which did not fairly belong to him. It was, it must have been, a pure, disinterested testimonial of private esteem and public patriotism, consentaneous with the uniform tenor both of his open and his confidential history, and conscientiously developing the real cause of his secession.

In truth it must have been, as he himself states it, insanity, to have persisted any longer in any thing like a regular attack; Lord Camden had declined to act upon his suggestion; the great phalanx of the Whig party was broken up

character whatever. There were some very excellent letters signed Atticus that appeared in the Public Advertiser between the dates of June 26, 1772, and October 14, 1773, and exhibit much of our author's style, spirit, and sentiments; and which, hence, by some tolerable judges, have been actually ascribed to him: but for various reasons, independently of that afforded by the above private letter, the editor is convinced they are not the production of JUNIUS. The talents they afford proof of, though considerable, are inferior; they contain attacks upon some statesmen who were never attacked by JUNIUS; and it is well known from the following notice inserted among the addresses to correspondents in the Public Advertiser for June 19, 1773, as well as from other facts, that there was at this period, and had been for some time past, another writer in this journal who assumed the name of Atticus. "Some circumstances render it necessary that the printer should communicate a line to ATTICUS, not his old Correspondent."

by the death of Mr. George Grenville; the vanity and extreme jealousy of Oliver and Horne had introduced the most acrimonious divisions into the Society for supporting the Bill of Rights; and the leading *patriots* of the city had so intermixed their own private interests, and their own private squabbles with the public cause, as to render this cause itself contemptible in the eye of the people at large. He had already tried, but in vain, to awaken the different contending parties to a sense of better and more honourable motives; to induce them to forego their selfish and individual disputes, and to make a common sacrifice of them upon the altar of the constitution¹. Yet, at the same time, so small were his expectations of success, so mean his opinion of the pretensions of most of the leading demagogues of the day to a real love of their country, and so grossly had he himself been occasionally misrepresented by them, that in his confidential intercourse he bade his correspondent beware of entrusting himself to them. “Nothing,” says he, “can be more express than my declaration against long parliaments: try Mr. Wilkes once more, (*who was in private possession of his sentiments upon this subject*²;) speak for me in a most friendly but *firm* tone, that I will not

¹ See JUNIUS, Letter LIX. Vol. II. p. 344, and Private Letter, No. 65.

² See Private Letter, No. 66.

submit to be any longer aspersed. Between ourselves, let me recommend it to you to be much upon your guard with *patriots*’.”

With his public address to the people, therefore, in Letter LIX. he seems in the first instance to have resolved upon closing his labours at least under the character of JUNIUS, provided no beneficial effect were likely to result from it, and as the printer had expressed to him an earnest desire of publishing a genuine edition of his letters, in a collective form, in consequence of a variety of incorrect and spurious editions at that time circulating through the nation, he seems to have thought that a consent to such a plan would afford him a good ostensible motive for putting a finish to his public career; and on this account he not only acceded to the proposal, but undertook to superintend it as far as his invisibility might allow him; as also to add a few notes, as well as a dedication and preface.

Nothing can be more absurd than the idea entertained by some writers, that JUNIUS himself was the previous editor of one or two of these irregular editions, and especially of an edition published but a short time anterior to his own, audaciously enough entitled “The genuine letters of JUNIUS, to which are prefixed, *anecdotes*

of the author ¹ ;” a pamphlet in which the anonymous anecdotist takes it for granted, from his very outset, that JUNIUS and Edmund Burke were the same person, and then proceeds to reason concerning the former, from the known or acknowledged works of the latter.

It was not till the appearance of Newberry's edition, with which it is not pretended that our author had any concern, that even Woodfall himself had conceived an idea of the propriety of collecting these letters, and publishing them in an edition strictly genuine, in consequence of the numerous blunders by which the common editions were deformed; of these Newberry's was perhaps, the freest from mistakes: yet Newberry's had so many, that our author, upon receiving a copy of it, addressed a note to Woodfall, begging him to hint to Newberry, that as he had thought proper to reprint his letters, he ought at least to have taken care to have corrected the errata; adding at the same time, “I did not expect more than the life of a newspaper; but if this man will keep me alive, let me live without being offensive².”

His answer upon Woodfall's application to him for leave to reprint his letters collectively, and subject to his own revisal, was as follows:

¹ See Mr. Chalmers's Appendix to the Supplemental Apology &c. p. 24.

² Private Letter, No. 4.

"I can have no manner of objection to your reprinting my letters if you think it will answer, which I believe it might, before Newberry appeared. If you determine to do it, give me a hint, and I will send you more errata (indeed they are innumerable) and perhaps a preface¹." It was on this occasion he added, as conceiving it might afford him a proper opportunity for a general close of the character though so early in his correspondence under the name of JUNIUS, as July 1769, "I really doubt whether I shall write any more under this signature; I am weary of attacking a set of brutes &c²." In answer to Woodfall's next letter upon the same subject he observes, "Do with my letters exactly as you please. I should think that to make a better figure than Newberry, some others of my letters may be added; and so throw out a hint that you have reason to suspect they are by the same author. If you adopt this plan I shall point out those which I would recommend, for you know I do not, nor indeed have I time to give equal care to them all³."

The plan for publication, however, though it commenced thus early, was not matured till October 1771: when it was determined that the work should comprise all the letters which had passed under the signatures of JUNIUS and Philo-

¹ Private Letter, No. 5.² Id. No. 6.³ Id. No. 7.

Junius to this period inclusively, and be occasionally enriched by a selection of other letters under a variety of other signatures, which, independently of that of Philo-Junius, our author, as has been observed already, not unfrequently employed to explain what required explanation, or defend what demanded vindication, and which he himself thought sufficiently correct to associate with his more laboured productions. In the prosecution of this intention however, he still made the two following alterations. Instead of closing the regular series of letters possessing the signature of JUNIUS with that dated October 5, 1771¹, upon the subject of "the unhappy differences," as he there calls them, "which *had arisen* among the friends of the people, and divided them from each other"—he added five others which the events of the day had impelled him to write during the reprinting of the letters, notwithstanding the intention he had expressed of offering nothing further under this signature. And instead of introducing the explanatory letters written under other signatures, he confined himself, in order that the work might be published before the ensuing session of parliament, to three justificatory papers alone: the first, under the title of "A Friend of JUNIUS," containing an answer to "A Barrister at Law;" the

¹ Letter LIX. Vol. II. p. 344.

second an anonymous declaration upon certain points on which his opinion had been mistaken or misrepresented; and the third an extract from a letter to Mr. Wilkes, drawn up for the purpose of being laid before the Bill of Rights Society, and vindicating himself from the charge of having written in favour of long parliaments and rotten boroughs. This last however was furnished, not by Mr. Wilkes, but from his own notes; "you shall have the *extract*," says he, "to go into the second volume: it will be a short one."

* Private Letter, No. 45 The reader will readily pardon, and perhaps thank us, for pointing out to his particular attention the following exquisite paragraph with which the above letter closes, but which formed no part of it as originally addressed to Mr. Wilkes. It refers to an able argument that an excision of the rotten boroughs from the representative system might perhaps produce more mischief than benefit to the constitution. "The man, who fairly and completely answers this argument, shall have my thanks and my applause. My heart is already with him.—I am ready to be converted.—I admire his morality, and would gladly subscribe to the articles of his faith.—Grateful, as I am, to the GOOD BEING, whose bounty has imparted to me this reasoning intellect, whatever it is, I hold myself proportionably indebted to him, from whose enlightened understanding another ray of knowledge communicates to mine. But neither should I think the most exalted faculties of the human mind, a gift worthy of the divinity; nor any assistance, in the improvement of them, a subject of gratitude to my fellow-creature, if I were not satisfied, that really to inform the understanding corrects and enlarges the heart."

Of the five letters added after he meant to have closed, and had actually begun to reprint his series, four of them are either expressly addressed to Lord Mansfield, or incidentally relate to him, in consequence of his having *illegally* (as it was contended) admitted a felon of the name of John Eyre to bail, who, although possessing a fortune of nearly thirty thousand pounds sterling, had stolen a quantity of paper inquires out of one of the public offices at Guildhall, and was caught in the very theft. The other letter is addressed to his steady object of inveterate hatred, the Duke of Grafton, upon the defeat of his attempt to transfer the Duke of Portland's estate in Cumberland, consisting of what had formerly been crown lands, to Sir James Lowther, in order to assist the latter in securing his election for this county.

Yet such was his anxiety to get this work completed and published before the winter session of parliament that he was ready to sacrifice the appearance of the whole of these additional letters, even that containing his elaborate accusation of Lord Mansfield, and which he acknowledged to have cost him enormous pains, rather than that it should be delayed beyond this period. "I am truly concerned," says he in a private letter dated January 20, 1772, "to see that the publication of the book is so long delayed. It

ought to have appeared before the meeting of parliament. By no means would I have you insert this long letter, if it make more than the difference of two days in the publication. Believe me, the delay is a real injury to the cause¹."

The difficulties, however, of sending proofs and revises forward and backward were so considerable, that the anxiety of the author was not gratified: parliament met, but the book was not published. JUNIUS became extremely impatient, yet still, in the most earnest terms pressed its publication before Alderman Sawbridge's motion *in favour of triennial parliament* which was to be brought forward in the beginning of March. "Surely," says he, in his private letter of February 22², "you have misjudged it very much about the book. I could not have conceived it possible that you would protract the publication so long. At this time, particularly before Mr. Sawbridge's motion, it would have been of singular use. You have trifled too long with the public expectation: at a certain point of time the appetite palls: I fear you have lost the season. The book, I am sure, will lose the greatest part of the effect I expected from it.— But I have done."

He was soon however consoled by intelli-

¹ Private Letter, No. 51.

² Id. No. 55.

gence from his friend Woodfall that, unduly as the book had been postponed, it was not for want of any exertions of his own; and that late as the season was, it would still precede the expected motion of Alderman Sawbridge¹. He, in consequence, replied as follows: "I do you the justice to believe that the delay has been unavoidable. The expedient you propose of printing the Dedication and Preface in the Public Advertiser is unadvisable. The attention of the public would then be quite lost to the book itself. Your rivals will be disappointed: nobody will apply to them, when they can be supplied at the fountain-head.—All I can now say is make haste with the book²."

The Dedication, Preface, and the materials for his notes were all finished about the beginning of the preceding November (1771). The letters at large, excepting the first two sheets which were revised by the author himself, were from the difficulty of conveyance entrusted to the correction of Mr. Woodfall. The Dedication and Preface were³ confided to the correction of Mr. Wilkes, with whose attention he expresses himself well pleased. "When you see Mr.

¹ The letters were actually published March 3, and Alderman Sawbridge's motion discussed the ensuing day—which motion, however was lost by a majority of 251 against 83.

² Private Letter, No. 56.

³ Id. No. 40.

Wilkes," says he in a note of February 29, 1772, "pray return him my thanks for the trouble he has taken. I wish he had taken more:" intimating hereby that there were still errors of which he was aware, and would have corrected if possible.

Yet though he thus continued to adhere rigidly to his determination never again to appear before the public in his full dress, or under the signature of JUNIUS, as he expresses it in his Private Letter of November 8, 1771, he did not object occasionally to introduce his observations and continue his severe strictures in a looser and less elaborate form, and under some appellative or other, that might not interfere with the claims of JUNIUS as a whole, as in the case of his series of letters to Lord Barrington, see No. cv, cvii, &c. These, however, it was not easy, in spite of the characteristic style that still pervaded them, for the world at large to bring completely home to the real writer, though many of them were frequently charged to the account of JUNIUS by the political critics of the day, in different addresses to the printer upon this subject.

To judge of the moral and political character of JUNIUS from his writings, as well private as

public, he appears to have been a man of a bold and ardent spirit, tenaciously honourable in his personal connexions, but vehement and inveterate in his enmities, and quick and irritable in conceiving them. In his state principles he was strictly constitutional, excepting perhaps upon the single point of denying the impeccability of the crown; in those of religion he, at least, *ostensibly* professed, an attachment to the established church.

Of his personal and private honour, however, we can only judge from his connexion with Mr. Woodfall. Yet this connexion is perhaps sufficient; throughout the whole of it he appears in a light truly ingenuous and liberal. "If undesignedly," says he in one of his letters, "I should send you any thing you may think dangerous, judge for yourself, or take any opinion you may think proper. You cannot offend or afflict me but by hazarding your own safety¹." To the same effect in another letter, "For my own part I can very truly assure you that nothing would afflict me more than to have drawn you into a *personal* danger, because it admits of no recompense. A little expense is not to be regarded, and I hope these papers have reimbursed you. I never will send you any thing that I think

¹ Private Letters, No. 43.

dangerous; but the risk is yours, and you must determine for yourself."

Upon another occasion, being sensible that he had written with an asperity that might alarm his correspondent, he again begged him not to print if he apprehended any danger; adding that, for himself he should not be offended at his desisting; and merely requesting that if he did not chuse to take the risk he would transmit the paper as sent to him, to a printer who was well known to be less cautious than himself. "The inclosed," says he, in one of his notes, "is of such importance, so very material, that it *must* be given to the public immediately. *I will not advise*, though *I think* you perfectly safe. All I say is that I rely upon your care to have it printed either to-morrow in your own paper, or to-night in the *Pacquet*." To the same effect is the following upon another occasion. "I hope you will approve of announcing the inclosed JUNIUS to-morrow, and publishing it on Monday. If, for any reasons that do not occur to me, you should think it unadvisable to print it as it stands, I must intreat the favour of you to transmit it to Bingley, and satisfy him that it is a real JUNIUS, worth a North Briton extraordinary. It will be impossible for me to have an opportunity of altering any part of it."

¹ Private Letters, No. 33.

² Id. No. 38.

³ Id. No. 34.

Upon the printer's being menaced with a prosecution on the part of the Duke of Grafton, in consequence of the publication of JUNIUS's letter to him of the date of December 12, 1769, accusing this nobleman of having, in the most corrupt and sinister manner, either sold or connived at the sale of a patent place in the collection of the customs at Exeter, he writes as follows: "As to yourself I am convinced the ministry will not venture to attack you; they dare not submit to such an enquiry. If they do, shew no fear, but tell them plainly you will justify, and subpœna Mr. Hine, Burgoyne, and Bradshaw of the Treasury: that will silence them at once." The printer, however, was still fearful, and could not avoid expressing himself so to his invisible friend; who thus replied to his proposal of volunteering an apology: "Judge for yourself. I enter seriously into the anxiety of your situation; at the same time I am strongly inclined to think that you will not be called upon. They cannot do it without subjecting Hine's affair to an enquiry, which would be worse than death to the minister. As it is they are more seriously stabbed with this last stroke than with all the rest. At any rate, stand firm: (I mean with all the humble appearances of con-

trition;) if you trim, or falter, you will lose friends, without gaining others.' The friendly advice thus shrewdly given was punctiliously followed; and the predictions of JUNIUS were more than accomplished: for the minister not only did not dare to enforce his menaces, but at the same time thought it expedient to drop abruptly the prosecution of Mr. Vaughan, which this attack upon him was expressly designed to fight off, and to drop it too, after the rule against Vaughan had been made absolute.

Upon the publication of JUNIUS's letter to the King, Woodfall was not quite so fortunate—but his invisible friend still followed him with assistance: he offered him, as has already been observed, a reimbursement of whatever might be his pecuniary expenses, and aided him in a still higher degree with the soundest prudential and legal advice. Upon a subsequent occasion also, he makes the following observation. "As to yourself, I really think you in no danger. You are not the object, and punishing you would be no gratification to the King."—But upon this subject, the following is one of the most important notes, as, although he expressly denies all *professional* knowledge of the law, it sufficiently proves that he was better acquainted with it than many who are actual practitioners. "I have care-

* Private Letters, No. 17.

* Id. No. 43.

fully perused the *Information*: it is so loose and ill-drawn that I am persuaded Mr. DeGrey could not have had a hand in it. Their inserting the whole, proves they had no strong passages to fix on. I still think it will not be tried. If it should, it will not be possible for a jury to find you guilty²."

In his first opinion he was mistaken; in his second he was correct. The cause was tried at Nisi Prius—but no one has yet forgotten that the verdict returned was "guilty of printing and publishing *only*;" which in fact implied not *guilty* at all³.

It is to this cause, as has been already glanced at, we are chiefly indebted for an acknowledged and unequivocal right in the jury to return a general verdict—that is, a verdict that shall embrace matter of law as well as matter of fact. Upon the ambiguity of the verdict however, in the case before us, a motion was made by the defendant's counsel in arrest of judgment; at the same time that an opposite motion was advanced by the counsel for the crown, for a rule upon the defendant to shew cause why the verdict should not be entered up according to the legal import of the words. On both sides a rule to shew cause was

² At that time Attorney General. ³ Private Letters, No. 20

³ See Editor's notes to p. 18 of this Volume, and p. 62 of Vol II.

granted, and the matter being argued before the court of King's Bench, Lord Mansfield, whose opinion was strongly in favour of the verdict being entered up, was supported by the single opinion of Mr. Justice Smyth alone—the rest of the judges unanimously opposing his lordship's construction. The result was the grant of a new trial, which, however, was not proceeded in, for want of proof of the publication of the paper in question.

That JUNIUS was quick and irritable in conceiving disgust, and vehement and even at times malignant in his enmities, we may equally ascertain from his private and his public communications. In the violence of his hatreds almost every one whom he attacks is guilty in the extreme; there are no degrees of comparison either in their criminality or his own detestation: the whole is equally superlative. If the Duke of Grafton be the object of his address, "every villain in the kingdom," says he, "is your friend"—the very sunshine you live in is a prelude to your destruction²." If Lord Mansfield fall beneath his lash, "I do not scruple to affirm, with the most solemn appeal to God for my sincerity, that in *my* judgment he is the worst and most dangerous man in the kingdom³." An opinion corroborated by him in

¹ Vol. II. p. 401.² Id. p. 406.³ Vol. II. p. 443.

his private correspondence: "We have got the rascal down," says he, "let us strangle him if it be possible." In like manner addressing himself to Lord Barrington, "You are so detested and despised by all parties (because all parties know you) that England, Scotland, and Ireland have but one wish concerning you;" while his note to the printer accompanying this address, closes thus: "The proceedings of this wretch are unaccountable. There must be some mystery in it which I hope will soon be discovered to his confusion. Next to the Duke of Grafton I verily believe the blackest heart in the kingdom belongs to Lord Barrington." Even Scaevola, an anonymous writer, whom he knew not, is "a blockhead" and "a fool" for opposing him: Swinney, for his impertinent enquiry of Lord G. Sackville, "a wretched and a dangerous fool;" and Garrick, on the same account, "a rascal, and a vagabond."

Yet it is not difficult to account for the more violent of his political abhorrences; and which seem, indeed, to have been almost exclusively directed against the three ministerial characters just enumerated in conjunction with the earl of Bute: for his attacks upon the Duke of Bedford

¹ Private Letters, No. 24.

² Miscellaneous Letters, No. cxi.

³ Private Letters, No. 61.

⁴ Id. No. 46 and 47.

⁵ Id. No. 5.

⁶ Id. No. 41 and 43.

and Sir William Blackstone, are but light and casual when compared with his incessant and unmitigated attacks against these noblemen.

Firmly rooted in the best Whig principles of the day, he had an invincible hatred of Lord Bute as the grand prop and foundation-stone of Toryism in its worst and most arbitrary tendencies : as introduced into Carlton-house against the consent of his present Majesty's royal grandfather, through the overweening favouritism of the princess dowager of Wales ; as having obtained an entire ascendancy over this princess, and through this princess over the King, whose non-age had been entirely entrusted to him, and through the king over the cabinet and the parliament itself. The introduction of Lord Bute into the post of chief preceptor to his Majesty was in our author's opinion an inextinguishable evil. "*That,*" says he, " was the salient point from which all the mischiefs and disgraces of the present reign took life and motion." Vol. II. p. 65. Thus despising the tutor, he could have no great reverence for the pupil : and hence the personal dislike he too frequently betrays, and occasionally in language altogether intemperate and unjustifiable, for the Sovereign. Hence, too, his unconquerable prejudice against Scotchmen of every rank.

The same cause excited his antipathy against Lord Mansfield, even before his Lordship's arbi-

trary line of conduct had proved that our author's suspicions concerning him were well-founded. Lord Mansfield was a Scotchman; but this was not the whole. Under the patronage of Lord Stormont, he had been educated with the highest veneration for the whole Stuart family, and especially for the Pretender; whose health, when a young man, had been his favorite toast, and to whom his brother was private and confidential secretary. It was for these sentiments, and for the politics which intruded themselves in his judicial proceedings, where the crown was concerned, that our author expressed himself in such bitter terms against the chief justice. "Our language," says he, in Letter xli. Vol. II. p. 160, "has no term of reproach, the mind has no idea of detestation, which has not already been happily applied to you, and exhausted.—Ample justice has been done, by abler pens than mine to the separate merits of your life and character. Let it be my humble office to collect the scattered sweets, till their united virtue tortures the sense.

His detestation of the Duke of Grafton proceeded from his Grace's having abandoned his patron Lord Chatham, and the Whig principles into which he had been initiated under him, to gratify his own ambition on the first offer that occurred: from his having afterwards united

sometimes with the Bedford party, sometimes with Lord Bute, and sometimes with other connexions of whatever principles or professions, whenever the union appeared favourable to his personal views; and from his having hereby prevented that general coalition of the different divisions of Whig statesmen, which must in all probability have proved permanently triumphant over the power of the King himself. "My abhorrence of the Duke," says JUNIUS, "arises from an intimate knowledge of his character, and from a thorough conviction that his baseness has been the cause of greater mischief to England than even the unfortunate ambition of Lord Bute."

It was not necessary for Lord Barrington to be a Scotchman in order to excite the antipathy of JUNIUS. He might justly despise and even hate him (if it be allowable to indulge a private hatred against a public character of any kind) for his political versatilities and want of all principle; for atrocities indeed, which no man can yet have forgotten, and which never can be buried in forgetfulness but with the total oblivion of his name. Barrington, independently of these general considerations, however, was the man

who moved for Wilkes's expulsion from parliament, in which he was seconded by Mr. Rigby.

These were the prime objects of our author's abhorrence; and in proportion as other politicians were connected with them by principles or want of principles, confederacy, nation or even family, he abhorred them also.

His reasons for believing that the constitution allows him to regard the reigning prince as occasionally culpable in his own person, are given at large in his Preface. To few people perhaps in the present day will they carry conviction. But, bating this single opinion, his view of the principles and powers of the constitution, appears to be equally correct and perspicuous. Upon the question of general warrants; of the right of juries to return general verdicts, or in other words, to determine upon the law as well as upon the fact; of the unlimited power of Lords Chief Justices to admit to bail; of the illegality of suspending acts of parliament by proclamation, we owe him much; he was a warm and rigid supporter of the co-extent, as well as co-existence of the three estates of the government, and it was from this principle alone that he argued against the system of indefinite privilege as appertaining to either house individually; and as allowing it a power of ar-

bitrary punishment, for what may occasionally be regarded as a contempt of such house, or a breach of such privilege.

Personally and outrageously inimical, however, as he was, to the reigning prince, and earnestly devoted as he seems to have been to the cause of the people, neither his enmity nor his patriotism hurried him into any of those political extravagancies which have peculiarly marked the character of the present age: a limited monarchy, like our own, he openly preferred to a republic; he contended for the constitutional right of impressing, in case of emergency, sea-faring men for the common service of the country; strenuously opposed the supporters of the Bill of Rights, in their endeavours to restore annual parliaments, and their fanciful, but as it appeared to him, unconstitutional plan of purifying the legislature by disfranchising a number of boroughs which they had chosen to regard as totally corrupt and rotten: and anterior to the American contest was as thoroughly convinced as Mr. George Grenville himself of the supremacy of the legislature of this country over the American colonies¹.

Upon the first point he observes: "I can more

¹ See Miscellaneous Letters, No x. as well as various others in the year 1768.

readily admire the liberal spirit and integrity, than the sound judgment of any man, who prefers a republican form of government, in this or any other empire of equal extent, to a monarchy so qualified and limited as ours. I am convinced, that neither is it in theory the wisest system of government, nor practicable in this country'. Upon the second point he appears to have been chiefly influenced by judge Foster's argument on the legality of pressing seamen, and his comment on that argument may be seen in his observations, Vol. II. p. 381 and p. 393. Upon the third and fourth points he thus ingeniously expresses himself: "Whenever the question shall be seriously agitated, I will endeavour (and if I live, will assuredly attempt it,) to convince the English nation by arguments, to my understanding unanswerable, that they ought to insist upon a *triennial*, and banish the idea of an *annual* parliament.—As to cutting away the rotten boroughs, I am as much offended as any man at seeing so many of them under the direct influence of the crown, or at the disposal of private persons; yet I own I have both doubts and apprehensions, in regard to the remedy you propose. I shall be charged, perhaps, with an unusual want of political intrepidity, when I

¹ Vol. II. p. 347, 348.

honestly confess to you, that I am startled at the idea of so extensive an amputation. In the first place, I question the power *de jure* of the legislature to disfranchise a number of boroughs upon the general ground of improving the constitution.—When you propose to cut away the *rotten* parts, can you tell us what parts are perfectly *sound*? Are there any certain limits, in fact or theory, to inform you at what point you must stop,—at what point the mortification ends?¹”

JUNIUS has been repeatedly accused of having been a party-man, but perhaps no political satirist was ever less so. To Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Horne he was equally indifferent, except in regard to their public principles and public characters. In his estimation the cause alone was every thing, and they were only of value as the temporary and accidental supporters of it. “Let us employ these men,” says he, “in whatever departments their various abilities are best suited to, and as much to the advantage of the common cause, as their different inclinations will permit.—If individuals have no virtues their vices may be of use to us. I care not with what principle the new-born patriot is animated, if the measures he supports are beneficial to the community. The nation is ju-

¹ Vol. II. p. 415—8.

interested in his conduct. His motives are his own. The properties of a patriot are perishable in the individual, but there is a quick succession of subjects, and the breed is worth preserving¹." It was in this view of the politics of the day, that he privately cautioned his friend Woodfall, as has been already noticed, "to be on his guard against *patriots*;" and in the consciousness of possessing a truly independent spirit, that he boasted of being "disowned, as a dangerous auxiliary, by every *party* in the kingdom³," his creed not expressly comporting with any single party creed whatever.

Yet there were statesmen whom he believed to be truly honest and upright, and for whom he felt a personal as well as a political reverence: and it is no small proof of the keenness of his penetration that the characters, whom he thus singled out from the common mass of pretenders to genuine patriotism, have been ever since growing in the public estimation, and are now justly looked back to as the pillars and bulwarks of the English constitution. His high opinion of the general purity and virtue of Lord Camden we have already noticed. "Lord Bute," says he, in describing several others of whom he equally approved, "found no resource of dependence or security in the proud, imposing superiority

¹ Vol. II. p. 346. 356.

² Private Letters, No. 44.

³ Vol. II. p. 205.

of Lord Chatham's abilities, the shrewd, inflexible judgment of Mr. Grenville¹, nor in the mild, but determined integrity of Lord Rockingham²." He also seems disposed to have entertained a good opinion of Lord Holland; and this is the rather entitled to attention, as the opinion was communicated confidentially. "I wish," says he, "Lord Holland may acquit himself with honour: if his cause be good, he should at once have published that account to which he refers in his letter to the mayor³." With respect to Mr. Sawbridge, and his worthy colleague, he observes, "My memory fails me if I have mentioned their names with disrespect;—unless it be reproachful to acknowledge a sincere respect for the character of Mr. Sawbridge, and not to have questioned the innocence of Mr. Oliver's intentions⁴." And again, adverting to the former, "It were much to be desired, that we had many such men as Mr. Sawbridge to represent us in parliament.—I

¹ Of all the political characters of the day Mr. Grenville appears to have been our author's favourite; no man was more open to censure in many parts of his conduct, but he is never censured: while, on the contrary, he is extolled wherever an opportunity offers; yet JUNIUS positively asserted that he had no personal knowledge of Mr. Grenville. Compare *Miscellaneous Letters*, No. XII. July 30, 1768, with Vol. I. p. 193.

² P. 167 of this Vol.

³ Private Letters, No. 5.

⁴ Vol. II. p. 310.

“speak from common report and opinion only, when I impute to him a speculative predilection in favour of a republic.—In the personal conduct and manners of the man, I cannot be mistaken. He has shewn himself possessed of that republican firmness, which the times require, and by which an English gentleman may be as usefully and as honourably distinguished, as any citizen of ancient Rome, of Athens, or Lacedæmon¹.”

Yet the times were too corrupt, and the instances of defection too numerous, to allow so wary a statesman as JUNIUS to regard even these exalted characters without occasional suspicion and jealousy. Much as he approved of the Marquis of Rockingham personally, he regarded him publicly as forming a feeble administration that dissolved in its own weakness². He had more than once some doubts of the motives both of Lord Camden and Lord Chatham: their opposition at the commencement of the American contest he was jealous of; and ascribed it rather to political pique than to liberal patriotism³. To his friend he writes thus confidentially, “The Duke of Grafton has been long labouring to detach Camden⁴,” and in unison with this idea he tells his Lordship himself pub-

• ¹ Vol. II. p. 349.

² P. 243 of this volume.

³ Id. p. 54, 55.

⁴ Private Letters, No. 47.

licly, "If you decline this honourable office, I fear it will be said that, for some months past, you have kept too much company with the Duke of Grafton." And even as late as August, 1771, when Lord Chatham had been progressively growing on his good opinion, he thus cautiously praises him. "If his ambition be upon a level with his understanding;—if he judges of what is truly honourable for himself, with the same superior genius, which animates and directs him to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, even the pen of JUNIUS shall contribute to reward him. •Recorded honours shall gather round his monument, and thicken over him. It is a solid fabric, and will support the laurels that adorn it.—I am not conversant in the language of panegyric.—These praises are extorted from me; but they will wear well, for they have been dearly earned¹."

In his religious opinions JUNIUS has been accused of deism and atheism; but on what account it seems impossible to ascertain: he has by others been conceived to have been a dissenter³; yet with as little reason. To judge from the few passages in his own writings that have any bearing upon the question, and which occur chiefly in his letter, under the signature

¹ Vol. II. p. 443.

² *Id.* p. 310, 311.

³ Heron's

edition of the Letters of JUNIUS, Vol. I. p. 69.

of Philo-Junius, of August 26, 1771, he appears to have been a Christian upon the most sincere conviction; one of whose chief objects was to defend the religion established by law, and who was resolved to renounce and give up to public contempt and indignation every man who should be capable of uttering a disrespectful word against it. To the religion of the court, it must be confessed that he was no friend; and to speak the truth it constituted, at the period in question, an anomaly not a little difficult of solution. To behold a sanctuary self-surrounded by a moat of pollution; a prince strictly and exemplarily pious, selecting for his confidential advisers men of the most abandoned debauchery and profligacy of life, demanded, in order to penetrate the mystery, a knowledge never completely acquired till the present day, which has sufficiently demonstrated how impossible it is for a king of England, to exercise at all times a real option in the appointment of his ministers. The severity with which our author uniformly satirized every violation of public decorum, at least entitles him to public gratitude, and does credit to the parity of his heart: and if his morality may be judged of by various occasional observations and advices scattered throughout his private intercourse with Mr.

¹ See especially Vol. I. p. 153, 154, 155, 159, 160, 236, 237.

Woodfall, some instances of which have already been selected, it is impossible to do otherwise than approve both his principles and his conduct.

Whether the writer of these letters had any other and less worthy object in view than that he uniformly avowed, namely, a desire to subserve the best political interests of his country, it is impossible to ascertain with precision. It is unquestionably no common occurrence in history, to behold a man thus steadily, and almost incessantly, for five years, volunteering his services in the cause of the people, amidst abuse and slander from every party, exposed to universal resentment, unknown, and not daring to be known, without having any personal object to acquire, any sinister motive of individual aggrandisement or reward. Yet nothing either in his public or private letters affords us the remotest hint that he was thus actuated¹. Throughout the whole, from first to last, in the midst of all his warmth, and rancour, his argument and declamation, his appeal to the public, and his notes to his confidential friend, he seems to have been influenced by the stimulus of sound and genuine patriotism alone. With this he

¹ The only hint which can be gathered that he had any prospect at any time of engaging in public life, is in Private Letters, No. 17 : but even this is of questionable meaning.

commenced his career, and with this he retired from the field of action, retaining, at least a twelvemonth afterwards, the latest period in which we are able to catch a glimpse of him, the same political sentiments he had professed on his first appearance before the world, and still ready to renew his efforts the very moment he could perceive they had a chance of being attended with benefit. Under these circumstances, therefore, however difficult it may be to acquit him altogether of personal considerations, it is still more difficult, and must be altogether unjust, ungenerous, and illogical to suspect his integrity.

It has often been said, from the general knowledge he has evinced of English jurisprudence, that he must have studied the law professionally: and in one of his Private Letters already quoted, he gives his personal opinion upon the mode in which the information of the King against Woodfall was drawn up, in a manner that may serve to countenance such an opinion. Yet on other occasions he speaks obviously not from his own knowledge, but from a consultation with legal practitioners: "The information," says he, "will only be for a misdemeanour, and *I am advised* that no jury, and especially in these times, will find it." In like

* Private Letters, No. 18.

manner, although he affirms in his elaborate letter to Lord Mansfield, "I well knew the *practice* of the court, and by what legal rules it ought to be directed"; yet he is for ever contemning the intricacies and littlenesses of special pleading, and in his Preface declares unequivocally, "I am no lawyer by profession, nor do I pretend to be more deeply read than every English gentleman should be in the laws of his country. If therefore the principles I maintain are truly constitutional, I shall not think myself answered, though I should be convicted of a mistake in terms, or of misapplying the language of the law²."

That he was of some rank and consequence seems generally to have been admitted by his opponents, and must indeed necessarily follow, as has been already casually hinted at, from the facility with which he acquired political information, and a knowledge of ministerial intrigues. In one place he expressly affirms that his "rank and fortune place *him* above a common bribe³"; in another "I should have hoped that even *my* name might carry some authority with it, if I had not seen how very little weight or consideration a printed paper receives even from the

¹ Vol. II. p. 409. ² P. 10, 11 of this volume.

³ Miscellaneous Letters, No. LJV. Vol. III. p. 202.

respectable signature of Sir W. Draper'.¹ On two occasions he intimates an intention of composing a regular history of the Duke of Grafton's administration. "These observations," says he, "general as they are, might easily be extended into a faithful history of your Grace's administration, and may perhaps be the employment of a future hour²;" and in a note subjoined to a subsequent letter, "the history of this ridiculous administration shall not be lost to the public³." And on one occasion, and on one occasion only, he appears to hint at some prospect, though a slender one, of taking a part in the government of the country. It occurs in a private letter to Woodfall: "I doubt much whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you; but, *if things take the turn I expect*, you shall know me *by my works*⁴."

Of those who have critically analyzed the style of his compositions, some have pretended to prove that he must necessarily have been of Irish descent or Irish education, from the peculiarity of his idioms; while, to shew how little dependence is to be placed upon any such observations, others have equally pretended to prove, from a similar investigation, that he

¹ P. 71 of this volume:

² Id. p. 132.

³ Vol. II. p. 76.

⁴ Private Letters, No. 17.

could not have been a native either of Scotland or Ireland, nor have studied in any university of either of those countries. The fact is, that there are a few phraseologies in his letters peculiar to himself; such as occur in the compositions of all original writers of great force and genius, but which are neither indicative of any particular race, nor referable to any provincial dialect.

The distinguishing features of his style are ardour, spirit, perspicuity, classical correctness, sententious, epigrammatic compression: his characteristic ornaments keen, indignant invective, audacious interrogation, shrewd, severe, antithetic retort, proud, presumptuous disdain of the powers of his adversary, pointed and appropriate allusions that can never be mistaken, but are often overcharged, and at times perhaps totally unfounded, similes introduced, not for the purpose of decoration, but of illustration and energy, brilliant, burning, admirably selected, and irresistible in their application'. In his similes, how-

' The following character of his style and talents is the production of a pen contemporaneous but hostile to him. It occurs in a letter in the Public Advertiser subscribed Alciphron, and dated August 22, 1771. The writer had well studied him.

" The admiration that is so lavishly bestowed upon this writer, affords one of the clearest proofs, perhaps, that can be found, how much more easily men are swayed by the imagination,

ever, he is once or twice too recondite, and in his grammatical construction still more frequently incorrect. Yet the latter should in most instances perhaps, if not the whole, be rather attributed to the difficulty of revising the press, and the peculiar circumstances under which his work was printed and published, than to any inaccuracy or classical misconception of his own. As to the surreptitious copies of his letters, he frequently complains of their numerous errors, "Indeed," says he, "they are innumerable"; and though the genuine edition labours under very considerably fewer, and on several occasions received his approbation on the score of

nation, than by the judgment; and that a fertile invention, glittering language, and sounding periods, act with far greater force upon the mind, than the simple deductions of sober reasoning, or the calm evidence of facts. For the talents of JUNIUS never appeared in demonstration.

Rapid, violent, and impetuous, he affirms without reason, and decides without proof; as if he feared that the slow methods of induction and argument would interrupt him in his progress, and throw obstacles in the way of his career. But though he advances with the largest strides, his steps are measured. His expressions are selected with the most anxious care, and his periods terminated in harmonious cadence. Thus he captivates by his confidence, by the turn of his sentences, and by the force of his words. His readers are persuaded because they are agitated, and convinced because they are pleased. Their assent, therefore, is never withheld; though they scarcely know why; or even to what it is yielded."

¹ Private Letters, No. 5.

accuracy, yet it would be too much to assert that it is altogether free from errors. In truth this was not to be expected, for it is not known that a single proof sheet (excepting those containing the first two letters) was ever sent to him. "You must correct the press yourself," says he in one of his letters to Woodfall; "*but I should be glad to see corrected proofs of the two first sheets.*" The Dedication and Preface he certainly did not revise.

Yet if the grammatical construction be occasionally imperfect, (sometimes hurried over by the author, and sometimes mistaken by the printer) the general plan and outline, the train of argument, the bold and fiery images, the spirited invective that pervade the whole, appear to have been always selected with the utmost care and attention. Such finished forms of composition bear in themselves the most evident marks of elaborate forecast and revisal, and the author rather boasted of the pains he had bestowed upon them than attempted to conceal his labour. In recommending to Woodfall to introduce into his purposed edition various letters of his own writing under other signatures, he adds, "If you adopt this plan I shall point out those which I would recommend; for you know, I do not, nor have I time to give equal

care to them all.—As to JUNIUS I must wait for fresh matter, as *this* is a character which must be kept up with credit¹.” The private note accompanying his first letter to Lord Mansfield commences thus, “The inclosed, though begun within these few days, *has been greatly laboured*; it is very correctly copied; and I beg that you will take care that it be literally printed as it stands².” The note accompanying his last and most celebrated letter observes as follows: “At last I have concluded *my great work*, and assure you with no small labour³.” On sending the additional papers for the genuine edition he asserts, “I have no view but to serve you, and consequently have only to desire that the Dedication and Preface may be correct. Look to it;—if you take it upon yourself, I will not forgive your suffering it to be spoiled. *I weigh every word; and every alteration, in my eyes at least, is a blemish*⁴.” In like manner in his letter to Mr. Horne, he interrogates him, “What public question have I declined, what villain have I spared? *Is there no labour in the composition of these letters*⁵?” In effect no excellence of any kind is to be attained without labour: and the degree of excellence that characterises the style

¹ Private Letters, No. 7.² Id. No. 24.³ Id. No. 40.⁴ Id. No. 46.⁵ Vol. II. p. 308.

of these addresses, intrinsically demonstrates the exercise of a labour unsparing and unremitting. Mr. Horne, in his reply, attempts to ridicule this acknowledgment: "I compassionate," says he, "your labour in the composition of your letters, and will communicate to you the secret of my fluency.—Truth needs no ornament; and, in my opinion, what she borrows of the pencil is deformity." Yet no man ever bestowed more pains upon his compositions than Mr. Horne has done: nor needed he to have been more ashamed of the confession than his adversary. To have made it openly would have been honest to himself, useful to the young, and salutary to the conceited.

His most elaborate letters are that to the King, and that to Lord Mansfield upon the law of bailments: one of his most sarcastic is that to the Duke of Grafton, of the date of May 30, 1769; and one of his best and most truly valuable that to the printer of the Public Advertiser, dated Oct. 5, 1771, upon the best means of uniting the jarring sectaries of the popular party into one common cause.

His metaphors are peculiarly brilliant, and so numerous, though seldom unnecessarily introduced, as to render it difficult to know where to fix in selecting a few examples. The follow-

ing are ably managed, and require no explanation. "The ministry, it seems, are labouring to draw a line of distinction between the honour of the crown and the rights of the people. This new idea has yet been only started in discourse, for, in effect, both objects have been equally sacrificed. I neither understand the distinction, nor what use the ministry propose to make of it. The King's honour is that of his people. Their *real* honour and *real* interest are the same.—I am not contending for a vain punctilio.—Private credit is wealth; public honour is security.—The feather that adorns the royal bird, supports its flight. Strip him of his plumage and you fix him to the earth¹." Again: "Above all things, let me guard my countrymen against the meanness and folly of accepting of a trifling or moderate compensation for extraordinary and essential injuries. Concessions, such as these, are of little moment to the sum of things; unless it be to prove, that the worst of men are sensible of the injuries they have done us, and perhaps to demonstrate to us the imminent danger of our situation. In the shipwreck of the state, trifles float and are preserved; while every thing solid and valuable sinks to the bottom, and is lost for ever²." Once more: "The very sun-shine you live in, is, a prelude to your dissolution. When you

¹ Vol. II. p. 194.² Id. p. 359. 360.

are ripe, you shall be plucked'." The commencement of his letter to Lord Camden shall furnish another instance: "I turn with pleasure, from that barren waste, in which no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens, to a character fertile, as I willingly believe, in every great and good qualification¹."

In a few instances his metaphors are rather too far-fetched or recondite: "Yet for the benefit of the succeeding age, I could wish that your retreat might be deferred, until your morals shall be happily ripened to that maturity of corruption, at which the worst examples cease to be contagious²." The change which is perpetually taking place in the matter of infection gives it progressively a point of utmost activity:—after which period, by the operation of the same continued change, it becomes progressively less active, till at length it ceases to possess any effect whatever. The parallel is correctly drawn, but it cannot be followed by every one. In the same letter we have another example: "His views and situation required a creature void of all these properties; and he was forced to go through every division, resolution, composition, and refinement of political chemistry, before he happily arrived at the *caput mortuum* of vitriol in your

¹ Vol. II. p. 406. ² Id. p. 441.

³ Vol. I. p. 172.

Grace. Flat and insipid in your retired state, but brought into action, you become vitriol again'." This figure is too scientific, and not quite correct: *vitriol* cannot, properly speaking, be said to be, in any instance, a *caput mortuum*. He seems, however, to have been unjustly charged with an incongruity of metaphor in his repartee upon the following observation of Sir W. Draper, "You, indeed, are a tyrant of another sort, and upon your political bed of torture can excruciate any subject, from a first minister down to such a grub or butterfly as myself". To this remark his reply was as follows: "If Sir W. Draper's bed be a bed of torture, he has made it for himself. I shall never interrupt *his repose*³." We need not ramble so far as to vindicate the present use of this last word by referring to its Latin origin: he himself has justly noticed under the signature of Philo-Junius, that those who pretend to espy any absurdity either in the idea or expression, "cannot distinguish between a sarcasm and a contradiction⁴."

To pursue this critique further would be to disparage the judgment of the reader. Upon the whole these letters, whether considered as classical and correct compositions, or as addresses of popular and impressive eloquence,

¹ Vol. I. p. 167.

² Vol. II. p. 10.

³ Id. p. 15.

⁴ Id. p. 29.

are well entitled to the distinction they have acquired; and quoted as they have been, with admiration, in the senate by such nice judges and accomplished scholars as Mr. Burke and Lord Eldon; eulogized by Dr. Johnson, and admitted by the author of the Pursuits of Literature, to the same rank among English classics as Livy or Tacitus among Roman, there can be no doubt that they will live commensurately with the language in which they are composed.

These few desultory and imperfect hints are the whole that the writer of this essay has been able to collect concerning the author of the Letters of JUNIUS. Yet desultory and imperfect as they are he still hopes that they may not be utterly destitute both of interest and utility. Although they do not undertake positively to ascertain who the author was; they offer a fair test to point out negatively who he was not; and to enable us to reject the pretensions of a host of persons, whose friends have claimed for them so distinguished an honour.

From the observations contained in this essay it should seem to follow unquestionably that the author of the letters of JUNIUS was an Englishman of highly cultivated education, deeply versed in the language, the laws, the constitution and history of his native country: that he was a man of easy if not of affluent cir-

circumstances, of unsullied honour and generosity, who had it equally in his heart and in his power to contribute to the necessities of other persons, and especially of those who were exposed to troubles of any kind on his own account : that he was in habits of confidential intercourse, if not with different members of the cabinet, with politicians who were most intimately familiar with the court, and entrusted with all its secrets : that he had attained an age which would allow him, without vanity, to boast of an ample knowledge and experience of the world : that during the years 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772, he resided almost constantly in London or its vicinity, devoting a very large portion of his time to political concerns, and publishing his political lucubrations, under different signatures, in the *Public Advertiser* ; that in his natural temper, he was quick, irritable and impetuous ; subject to political prejudices and strong personal animosities ; but possessed of a high independent spirit ; honestly attached to the principles of the constitution, and fearless and indefatigable in maintaining them ; that he was strict in his moral conduct, and in his attention to public decorum ; an avowed member of the established church, and, though acquainted with English judicature, not a lawyer by profession.

What other characteristics he may have possessed we know not; but these are sufficient, and the claimant who cannot produce them conjointly is in vain brought forwards as the author of the Letters of JUNIUS.

The persons to whom this honour has at different times, and on different grounds been attributed are the following: Charles Lloyd, a clerk of the Treasury, and afterwards, a deputy teller of the Exchequer; John Roberts, also a clerk in the Treasury at the commencement of his political life, but afterwards successively private secretary to Mr. Pelham when chancellor of the exchequer, member of parliament for Harwich, and commissioner of the board of trade*; Samuel Dyer, a man of considerable learning, and a friend of Mr. Burke and of Dr. Johnson; William Gerard Hamilton, another friend and patron of Mr. Burke; Edmund Burke himself; Dr. Butler, late bishop of Hereford; the Rev. Philip Rosenhagen; Major-General Charles Lee, well-known for his activity during the American war; John Wilkes; Hugh Macauley Boyd; John Dunning, Lord Ashburton; Henry Flood; and Lord George Sackville.

Of the three first of these reported authors

* Anonymously accused of having written these letters in the Public Advertiser, March 21, 1772, *et passim*.

of the Letters of JUNIUS, it will be sufficient to observe, without entering into any other fact whatever, that Lloyd was on his death-bed at the date of the last of JUNIUS's private letters; an essay, which has sufficient proof of having been written in the possession of full health and spirits; and which, together with the rest of our author's private letters to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, is in the possession of the proprietor of this edition, and bear date January 19th, 1773. While as to Roberts and Dyer, they had both been dead for many months anterior to this period: Lloyd died, after a lingering illness, January 22d, 1773; Roberts July 13th, and Dyer on September 15th, both in the preceding year.

Of the two next reputed authors, Hamilton had neither energy nor personal courage enough for such an undertaking *, and Burke could not

* Hamilton, from his having *once* made a brilliant speech in the lower House of Great Britain and ever afterwards remaining silent, was called *Single-speech* Hamilton. In allusion to this fact, and that he was the real JUNIUS, there is a letter in the Public Advertiser of November 30, 1771, addressed to WILLIAM JUNIUS SINGLE-SPEECH, Esq. The air of Dublin however, should seem, according to Mr. Malone's account of him, to have been more favourable to his rhetorical powers than that of Westminster: for this writer tells us that Mr. Hamilton made not less than five speeches in the Irish Parliament in the single Session of 1761—2. *Parliamentary Logic*, Pref. p. xxii.

have written in the style of JUNIUS, which was precisely the reverse of his own, nor could he have consented to have disparaged his own talents in the manner in which JUNIUS has disparaged them in his letter to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, dated October 5, 1771; independently of which, both of them solemnly denied that they were the authors of these letters, Hamilton to Mr. Courtney in his last illness, as that gentleman has personally informed the editor; and Burke expressly and satisfactorily to Sir William Draper, who purposely interrogated him upon the subject; the truth of which denial is, moreover, corroborated by the testimony of the late Mr. Woodfall, who repeatedly declared that neither of them were the writers of these compositions. Why Burke was so early and generally suspected of having written them it is not easy to say; but that he was so suspected is obvious not only from the opinion at first entertained by Sir William Draper, but from various public accusations conveyed in different newspapers and pamphlets of the day; the Public Advertiser in the month of October containing one letter under the signature of Zeno, addressed "to JUNIUS, alias, Edmund, the Jesuit of St. Omers*;" another under the signature of Pliny

* See Note to Letter LXI.

Junior, a third under that of Querist, a fourth under that of Oxoniensis, and a fifth under that of Scævola; together with many others to the same effect: and, as has already been hinted at, an anonymous collector of many of the letters of JUNIUS, prefixing to his own edition certain anecdotes of Mr. Burke, which he confidently denominated "Anecdotes of JUNIUS," thus purposely, but fallaciously, identifying the two characters *.

If however there should be readers so inflexible as still to believe that Mr. Burke was the real writer of the Letters of JUNIUS, and that his denial of the fact to Sir William Draper was only wrung from him under the influence of fear, it will be sufficient to satisfy even such readers by shewing that the system of politics of the one

* In addition to the above proofs that Burke and JUNIUS were not the same person, the editor might refer to the prosecution which Mr. Burke instituted against Mr. Woodfall, the Printer of the Public Advertiser, and conducted with the utmost acrimony for a paper deemed libellous that appeared in this journal in the course of 1783. Considerable interest was made with Mr. Burke to induce him to drop this prosecution in different stages of its progress, but he was inexorable. The cause was tried at Guildhall July 15, 1784, and a verdict of a hundred pounds damages was obtained against the printer; the whole of which was paid to the prosecutor. It is morally impossible that JUNIUS could have acted in this manner: every anecdote in the preceding sketch of his public life forbids the belief that he could.

was in direct opposition to that of the other upon a variety of the most important points. Burke was a decided partisan of Lord Rockingham, and continued so during the whole of that nobleman's life: JUNIUS, on the contrary, was as decided a friend to Mr. George Grenville. Each was an antagonist to the other upon the great subject of the American Stamp Act. JUNIUS was a warm and powerful advocate for triennial parliaments; Burke an inveterate enemy to them. To which the editor may be allowed to add, that while Mr. Burke in correcting his manuscripts for the press, and revising them in their passage through it, is notorious for the numerous alterations he was perpetually making, the copy with which the late Mr. Woodfall was furnished by JUNIUS for the genuine edition of his Letters contained very few amendments of any kind.

The following extracts from Mr. Burke's celebrated speech on American taxation, delivered April 19, 1774, will put the reader into possession of that gentleman's arguments upon each of the above public questions, and, compared with the short subjoined extracts from JUNIUS, will justify the contrast which the editor has thus ventured to offer. It will also present the reader with a brilliant specimen of the eloquence of both characters.

Mr. Burke observes, in the course of this celebrated speech¹, that "In the year 1765, being in a very private station, far enough from any line of business, and not having the honour of a seat in this house, it was my fortune, unknowing and unknown to the then ministry, by the intervention of a common friend to become connected with a very noble person, and at the head of the treasury department, [Lord Rockingham.] It was indeed in a situation of little rank and no consequence, suitable to the mediocrity of my talents and pretensions. But a situation near enough to enable me to see, as well as others, what was going on ; and I did see in that noble person such sound principles, such an enlargement of mind, such clear and sagacious sense, and such unshaken fortitude, as have bound me, as well as others much better than me, by an inviolable attachment to him from that time forward²."

"I think the enquiry lasted in the committee for six weeks ; and at its conclusion this house, by an independent, noble, spirited, and unexpected majority ; by a majority that will redeem all the acts ever done by majorities in parliament ; in the teeth of all the old mer-

¹ See 8vo. edit of his works, Vol. II. p. 389. et. seq.

² Burke's Works, Vol. II. p. 399.

cenary Swiss of state, in despite of all the speculators and augurs of political events, in defiance of the whole embattled legion of veteran pensioners and practised instruments of a court, gave a total repeal to the stamp-act, and (if it had been so permitted) a lasting peace to this whole empire."

"I will likewise do justice, I ought to do it, to the honourable gentleman who led us in this house [General Conway]. Far from the duplicity wickedly charged on him, he acted his part with alacrity and resolution. We all felt inspired by the example he gave us, down even to myself, the weakest in that phalanx. I declare for one, I knew well enough (it could not be concealed from any body) the true state of things; but, in my life, I never came with so much spirits into this house. It was a time for a *man* to act in. We had powerful enemies; but we had faithful and determined friends; and a glorious cause. We had a great battle to fight; but we had the means of fighting; not as now, when our arms are tied behind us. We did fight that day and conquer."

"I remember, Sir, with a melancholy pleasure, the situation of the hon. gentleman [General Conway] who made the motion for the

¹ Burke's Works, Vol. II. p. 403.

² Id p. 40.

repeal; in that crisis, when the whole trading interest of this empire, crammed into your lobbies, with a trembling and anxious expectation, waited almost to a winter's return of light, their fate from your resolutions. When, at length, you had determined in their favour, and your doors thrown open, shewed them the figure of their deliverer in the well-earned triumph of his important victory, from the whole of that grave multitude there arose an involuntary burst of gratitude and transport. They jumped upon him like children on a long absent father. They clung about him as captives about their redeemer. All England, all America, joined in his applause. Nor did he seem insensible to the best of all earthly rewards, the love and admiration of his fellow-citizens. 'Hope elevated and joy brightened his crest.' I stood near him; and his face, to use the expression of the scripture of the first martyr, 'his face was as if it had been the face of an angel.' I do not know how others feel; but if I had stood in that situation, I never would have exchanged it for all that kings in their profusion could bestow. I did hope, that that day's danger and honour would have been a bond to hold us all together for ever. But, alas! that, with other pleasing visions, is long since vanished.

"Sir, this act of supreme magnanimity

has been represented, as if it had been a measure of an administration; that, having no scheme of their own, took a middle line, pilfered a bit from one side and a bit from the other. Sir, they took no middle lines. *They differed fundamentally from the schemes of both parties; but they preserved the objects of both. They preserved the authority of Great Britain. They preserved the equity of Great Britain. They made the declaratory act; they repealed the stamp-act. They did both fully; because the declaratory act was without qualification, and the repeal of the stamp-act total.*"

"Sir, the agents and distributors of falsehoods have, with their usual industry, circulated another lie of the same nature with the former. It is this, that the disturbances arose from the account which had been received in America of the change in the ministry. No longer awed, it seems, with the spirit of the former rulers, they thought themselves a match for what our calumniators choose to qualify by the name of so feeble a ministry as succeeded: Feeble in one sense these men certainly may be called; for with all their efforts, and they have made many, they have not been able to resist the distempered vigour, and insane alacrity with which you are rushing to your ruin."

“ On this business of America I confess I am serious, even to sadness. I have had but one opinion concerning it since I sat, and before I sat in parliament. * * * * I honestly and solemnly declare, I have in all seasons adhered to the system of 1766, for no other reason than that I think it laid deep in your truest interests, and that, by limiting the exercise, it fixes on the firmest foundations, a real, consistent, well-grounded authority in parliament. Until you come back to that system, there will be no peace for England’.”

“ No man can believe, that at this time of day I mean to lean on the venerable memory of a great man, whose loss we deplore in common. Our little party differences have been long ago composed; and I have acted more with him, and certainly with more pleasure with him, than ever I acted against him. Undoubtedly Mr. Grenville was a first-rate figure in this country. With a masculine understanding, and a stout and resolute heart, he had an application undissipated and unwearied. He took public business not as a duty which he was to fulfil, but as a pleasure he was to enjoy; and he seemed to have no delight out of this house, except in such things as some way related to the business that was to be done with-

in it. If he was ambitious, I will say this for him, his ambition was of a noble and generous strain. It was to raise himself not by the low pimping politics of a court, but to win his way to power, through the laborious gradations of public service; and to secure himself a well-earned rank in parliament, by a thorough knowledge of its constitution, and a perfect practice in all its business. • * * * *

He was bred in a profession. He was bred to the law, which is, in my opinion, one of the first and noblest of human sciences; a science which does more to quicken and invigorate the understanding, than all the other kinds of learning put together; but it is not apt, except in persons very happily born, to open and to liberalize the mind exactly in the same proportion'."

Let the reader compare the opinions contained in the above extracts with the following, taken almost at hazard, from different productions of JUNIUS, and he will have no difficulty in determining that the writer of the one set could not be the writer of the other.

"To prove the meaning and intent of the legislature, will require a minute and tedious deduction. To investigate a question of law demands some labour and attention, though very

little genius or sagacity. As a practical profession, the study of the law requires but a moderate portion of abilities. The learning of a pleader is usually upon a level with his integrity. The indiscriminate defence of right and wrong contracts the understanding, while it corrupts the heart. Subtlety is soon mistaken for wisdom, and impunity for virtue. If there be any instances upon record, as some there are undoubtedly, of genius and morality united in a lawyer, they are distinguished by their singularity, and operate as exceptions'."

"Whenever the question shall be seriously agitated, I will endeavour (and if I live, will assuredly attempt it,) to convince the English nation, by arguments to *my* understanding unanswerable, that they ought to insist upon a triennial, and banish the idea of an annual parliament. * * * * I am convinced that, if shortening the duration of parliaments (which in effect is keeping the representative under the rod of the constituent) be not made the basis of our new parliamentary jurisprudence, other checks or improvements signify nothing'."

"When the Septennial Act passed, the legislature did what, apparently and palpably, they

' Vol. II. p. 411, 412 of the present edition.

* Id. p. 445.

had no power to do; but they did more than people in general were aware of; they, in effect disfranchised the whole kingdom for four years'."

"It would be to no purpose at present to renew a discussion of the merits of the Stamp Act, though I am convinced that even the people who were most clamorous against it, either never understood, or wilfully misrepresented every part of it. But it is truly astonishing that a great number of people should have so little foreseen the inevitable consequence of repealing it. ***

* * * * * There was indeed one man, [G. Grenville] who wisely foresaw every circumstance which has since happened, and who, with a patriot's spirit, opposed himself to the torrent. He told us, that, if we thought the loss of outstanding debts, and of our American trade, a mischief of the first magnitude, such an injudicious compliance with the terms dictated by the colonies, was the way to make it sure and unavoidable. It was *ne moriari, mori*. We see the prophecy verified in every particular, and if this great and good man was mistaken in any one instance, it was, perhaps, that he did not expect his predictions to be fulfilled so soon as they have been."

"It is not many months since you gave me

¹ Vol. II. p. 447.

² Id. p. 512, 513.

an opportunity of demonstrating to the nation, as far as rational inference and probability could extend, that the hopes which some men seemed to entertain, or to profess at least, with regard to America, were without a shadow of foundation. * * * * * But whatever were their views or expectations, whether it was the mere enmity of party, or the real persuasion that they had but a little time to live in office, every circumstance that I then foretold is confirmed by experience. * * * * * We find ourselves at last reduced to the dreadful alternative of either making war upon our colonies, or of suffering them to erect themselves into independent states. It is not that I hesitate now upon the choice we are to make. Every thing must be hazarded. But what infamy, what punishment do those men deserve, whose folly or whose treachery hath reduced us to this state, in which we cannot give up the cause without a certainty of ruin, nor maintain it without such a struggle as must shake the empire. * * * * * Mr. Conway since last December has, in the face of the House of Commons, defended the resistance of the colonies upon what he called revolution principles. * * * * * If we look for their motives, we shall find them such as weak and interested men usually act upon. They were weak enough to hope that the crisis of Great

Britain and America would be reserved for their successors in office, and they were determined to hazard even the ruin of their country, rather than furnish the man [G. Grenville] whom they feared and hated, with the melancholy triumph of having truly foretold the consequences of their own misconduct. But this, such as it is, the triumph of a heart that bleeds at every vein, they cannot deprive him of. They dreaded the acknowledgment of his superiority over them, and the loss of their own authority and credit, more than the rebellion of near half the empire against the supreme legislature. * * * * *

It is impossible to conceal from ourselves, that we are at this moment on the brink of a dreadful precipice; the question is whether we shall submit to be guided by the hand which hath driven us to it, or whether we shall follow the patriot voice [G. Grenville's] which has not ceased to warn us of our dangers, and which would still declare the way to safety and to honour."

"Whether it be matter of honour or reproach, it is at least a singular circumstance, that whoever is hardy enough to maintain the cause of Great Britain, against subjects who disown her authority, or to raise his voice in defence of the laws and constitution, is immediately pointed

¹ Miscellaneous Letters, No. xxix. Vol. III. p. 73.

out to the public for Mr. Grenville's friend * *
 * * * * * It is true he professes doctrines
 which would be treason in America, but in En-
 gland at least he has the laws on his side, and
 if it be a crime to support the supremacy of the
 British legislature, the Sovereign, the Lords and
 Commons are as guilty as he is. * * * * *

If the pretensions of the colonies had not been
 abetted by something worse than a faction
 here the stamp act would have executed itself.
 Every clause of it was so full and explicit that
 it wanted no further instruction; nor was it of
 that nature that required a military hand to
 carry it into execution. For the truth of this
 I am ready to appeal even to the colonies
 themselves. * * * * * Your corres-
 pondent [who had answered Miscell. Lett. xxix.]
 confesses that Mr. Grenville is still respectable;
 yet he warns the friends of that gentleman not
 to provoke him, lest he should tell them what
 they may not like to hear. These are but words.
 He means as little when he commends as when
 he condescends to applaud. Let us meet upon
 the fair ground of truth, and if he finds one
 vulnerable part in Mr. Grenville's character, let
 him fix his poisoned arrow there'."

"If there be any thing improper in this ad-
 dress, [a letter addressed to G. Grenville] the

singularity of your present situation will, I hope, excuse it. Your conduct attracts the attention, because it is highly interesting to the welfare of the public, and a private man who only expresses what thousands think, cannot well be accused of flattery or detraction. * * * * * This letter, I doubt not, will be attributed to some party friend, by men who expect no applause but from their dependents. But you, Sir, have the testimony of your enemies in your favour. After years of opposition, we see them revert to those very measures with violence, with hazard and disgrace, which in the first instance might have been conducted with ease, with dignity and moderation.

While parliament preserves its constitutional authority, you will preserve yours. As long as there is a real representation of the people, you will be heard in that great assembly with attention, deference and respect; and if fatally for England the designs of the present ministry should at last succeed, you will have the consolation to reflect that your voice was heard, until the voice of truth and reason was drowned in the din of arms; and that your influence in parliament was irresistible, until every question was decided by the sword¹."

How far the same principles were supported

¹ Miscellaneous Letters, No. LIII. Vol. III. p. 192.

by the same writer under the signature of JUNIUS; the reader will find in Vol. I. p. 54. and Vol. II. p. 350. and it is not necessary to copy farther.

Mr. Malone, in his preface to a well-known work of Mr. Hamilton, entitled *Parliamentary Logic*¹, offers a variety of remarks in disproof that this gentleman was the writer of the letters, several of which are possessed of sufficient force, though few persons will perhaps agree with him in believing that if Hamilton had written them, he would have written them better. The following are his chief arguments :

“ Now (not to insist on his own solemn asseveration near the time of his death, that he was not the author of JUNIUS²) Mr. Hamilton was so far from being an ardent party man, that during the long period above mentioned [from Jan. 1769 to Jan. 1772] he never closely connected himself with any party. * * * * Notwithstanding his extreme love of political discussion, he never, it is believed, was heard to speak of any administration or any opposition with vehemence either of censure or of praise ; a character so opposite to the fervent and sometimes coarse acrimony of JUNIUS, that this consideration alone is sufficient to settle the point, as far as

¹ P. xxix. *et seq.*

² “ It has been said that he at the same time declared that he *knew* who was the author ; but unquestionably he never made any such declaration.” MALONE.

relates to our author, for ever. * * * * On the question—who *was* the author?—he was as free to talk as any other person, and often did express his opinion concerning it to the writer of this short memoir; an opinion nearly coinciding with that of those persons who appear to have had the best means of information on the subject, In a conversation on this much agitated point, he once said to an intimate friend, in a tone between seriousness and pleasantry,—‘ You know, H * * * * * n, I could have written better papers than those of JUNIUS :’ and so the gentleman whom he addressed, who was himself distinguished for his rhetorical powers, and a very competent judge, as well as many other persons, thought.

“ It may be added, that his style of composition was entirely different from that of this writer. * * * * That he had none of that minute *commissarial* knowledge of petty military matters, which is displayed in some of the earlier papers of JUNIUS.

“ And finally it may be observed, that the figures and allusions of JUNIUS are often of so different a race from those which our author [Hamilton] would have used, that he never spoke of some of them without the strongest disapprobation; and particularly when a friend, for the purpose of drawing him out, affected to think him the writer of these papers; and ban-

tering him on the subject, taxed him with that passage in which a nobleman, then in a high office, is said to have 'travelled through every sign in the political zodiac, from the SCORPION, in which he *stung* Lord Chatham, to the hopes of a VIRGIN,' &c. as if this imagery were much in his style,—Mr. Hamilton with great vehemence exclaimed, 'had I written such a sentence as that, I should have thought I had forfeited all pretensions to good taste in composition for ever!' "

Mr. Malone further observes, that Hamilton filled the office of chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland, from September 1763 to April 1784, during the very period in which all the letters of JUNIUS appeared before the public; and it will not very readily be credited by any one that this is likely to have been the exact quarter from which the writer of the letters in question fulminated his severe criminations against government. The subject moreover of parliamentary reform, for which JUNIUS was so zealous an advocate, Mr. Malone expressly tells us was considered by Hamilton to be "of so dangerous a tendency, that he once said to a friend now living, that he would sooner suffer his right hand to be cut off, than vote for it."

The only reason indeed that appears for these letters having ever been attributed to Hamilton is, that on a certain morning he told the Duke of Richmond, as has been already hinted

at', the *substance* of a letter of JUNIUS which he pretended to have just read in the Public Advertiser; but which, on consulting the Public Advertiser, was found not to appear there, an apology instead of it being offered for its postponement till the next day, when the letter thus previously adverted to by Hamilton did actually make its appearance. That Hamilton, therefore, had a knowledge of the existence and purport of this letter is unquestionable; but without conceiving him the author of it, it is easy to account for the fact, by supposing him (as we have supposed already) to have had it read to him by his friend Woodfall, antecedently to its being printed.

Another character that has been started as a claimant to the Letters of JUNIUS, is the late Dr. Butler, bishop of Hereford, formerly secretary to the Right Hon. Bilson Legge, chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards Lord Stawell. Dr. Butler was a man of some talents, and was occasionally a political writer, and felt no small disgust and mortification upon his patron's dismissal from office. But he never discovered those talents that could in any respect put him upon an equality with JUNIUS. He was moreover a man of mild disposition, and in no respect celebrated for political courage. To which general remarks, in contravention of this gentleman's claim,

* See Preliminary Essay, p. *11.

the editor begs leave to subjoin the following extract of a letter upon the subject, addressed by a friend of Dr. Butler's, and who himself took an active part in the politics of the times, to a high official character of the present day, and which he has been allowed the liberty of copying :—

“ Mr. Wilkes shewed me the letters he received *privately* from JUNIUS : *parts* of one of these were printed in the public papers at the request of the Bill of Rights. The autograph was remarkable—it was firm and precise, and did not appear to me at all disguised. Mr. Wilkes had been intimate with Bishop Butler when quartered as colonel of the militia at Winchester; and from some very curious concurrent circumstances, he had strong reasons for considering that the Bishop was the author, and I had some reasons for conjecturing the same. Yet I must confess, that if these suspicions were stronger and more confirmed, yet I think I should require more substantial proofs ; and my reasons are, that from all I was ever able to learn of the Bishop's *personal character*, he was incapable of discovering, or feeling those rancorous sentiments, so unbecoming his character as a christian, and his station as a prelate, expressed towards the Duke of Grafton, Lord North, Sir William Draper, and others—more especially the King. Nor do I think that his being the sole depository of his own secret, which, as JUNIUS says, would

be, and I fancy *was*, buried in everlasting oblivion, when he was entombed; would have encouraged him to have used such opprobrious language."

The pretensions of the Rev. Philip Rosenhagen, though adverted to in a preceding edition of these letters, are hardly worth noticing. He was at one time chaplain to the 8th regiment of foot; and is said to have endeavoured to impose upon Lord North with a story of his having been the author of the letters in order to induce his Lordship to settle a pension upon him. It is sufficient to observe, that Mr. Rosenhagen, who was a school-fellow of Mr. H. S. Woodfall, continued on terms of acquaintance with him in subsequent life; and occasionally wrote for the Public Advertiser: but was repeatedly declared by Mr. Woodfall, who must have been a competent evidence as to the fact, not to be the author of JUNIUS's letters. A private letter of Rosenhagen's to Mr. Woodfall is still in the possession of his son, and nothing can be more different from each other than this autograph and that of JUNIUS.

It has been said in an American periodical work entitled "The Wilmington Mirror," that General Lee in confidence communicated to a friend the important secret that he was the author of these celebrated letters; but, whether Lee ever made such a communication or not,

nothing is more palpable than that he did not write them—since it is a notorious fact, that during the whole, or nearly the whole of the period in which they successively appeared, this officer was on the continent of Europe, travelling from place to place, and occupying the whole of his time in very different pursuits.

The friend to whom this communication is said to have been made, is a Mr. T. Rodney, who declares as follows in a communication inserted in the above-mentioned American periodical work.

“ In the fall of 1773, not long after General Lee had arrived in America, I had the pleasure of spending an afternoon in his company, when there was no other person present. Our conversation chiefly turned on politics, and was mutually free and open. Among other things, the Letters of JUNIUS were mentioned, and General Lee asked me, who was conjectured to be the author of these letters. I replied, our conjectures here generally followed those started in England; but for myself, I concluded, from the spirit, style, patriotism, and political information which they displayed, that Lord Chatham was the author; and yet there were some sentiments there that indicated his not being the author. General Lee immediately replied, with considerable animation, affirming, that to his certain knowledge, Lord Chatham

was not the author ; neither did he know who the author was, any more than I did ; that there was not a man in the world, no, not even Woodfall, the publisher, that knew who the author was ; that the secret rested solely with himself, and for ever would remain with him.

“ Feeling, in some degree, surprised at this unexpected declaration, after pausing a little, I replied : ‘ No, General Lec, if you certainly know what you have affirmed, it can no longer remain solely with him ; for, certainly, no one could know what you have affirmed but the author himself.’ ”

“ Recollecting himself, he replied : ‘ I have unguardedly committed myself, *and it would be but folly to deny to you that I am the author ;* but I must request that you will not reveal it during my life ; for it never was, nor never will be revealed by me to any other.’ He then proceeded to mention several circumstances to verify his being the author ; and, among them, that of his going over to the Continent, and absenting himself from England most of the time in which these Letters were first published in London, &c. &c. This he thought necessary, lest, by some accident, the author should become known, or at least suspected, which might have been his ruin, had he been known to the court of London, &c.”

The account from which we have made this extract was reprinted in the *St. James's Chronicle* for April 16, 1803, which the editor prefaces by observing, "Of Mr. Rodney, or of the degree of credit that may reasonably be attached to his declaration, we know nothing; but the subject is so curious, that we think our readers will not be averse from having their attention once more drawn to it."

The public do not in any degree appear to have been influenced either by General Lee's pretended assertion, or Mr. Rodney's positive declaration: and this claim had totally died away like the rest, when in 1807 it was revived by Dr. Girdlestone of Yarmouth, Norfolk, who endeavoured to establish General Lee's pretensions by a comparison of Rodney's statement with Mr. Langworthy's memoirs of the general's life, in a pamphlet published anonymously, under the title of "Reasons for rejecting the presumptive evidence of Mr. Almon, that Mr. Hugh Boyd was the writer of JUNIUS, with passages selected to prove the real author of the Letters of JUNIUS." And in consequence of this revival of Mr. Lee's claim, the editor feels himself called upon to examine its foundation somewhat more in detail.

The passages selected are in no respect convincing to his mind, and do not appear to have

been so to that of the public. But without entering upon so disputable a question as that of a superiority of literary taste, it will be sufficient to remark that the great distance of General Lee from England during the period in which the Letters of JUNIUS were published, together with the different line of politics which he pursued, render it impossible that Lee could have been the author of these letters.

The correspondence of General Lee previous to his quitting England for America, in August, 1773, as published by Mr. Langworthy in the memoirs of his life, and adverted to in Dr. Girdlestone's pamphlet, extend through a period of about thirteen months, from Dec. 1, 1766, to Jan. 19, 1768, and give us the following dates.

- 1766, Dec. 1. To the King of Poland, from
London.
25. The Prince of Poland, the
same.
- 1767, May 1. Mr. Coleman, from Warsaw.
2. Mrs. Macauley', the same.
4. Louisa C. the same.
4. Lord Thanet, the same.
- Aug. 16. King of Poland, Kamineck.
- 1768, Jan. 19. Sir C. Davers, Dijon.

The letter was not addressed to Mrs. Macauley, but to Lady Blake. Edit. of the present work.

The dates of the letters written by JUNIUS under his occasional signatures are as follows :

- 1767, April 28. Poplicola.
- May 28. The same in answer to a letter of Sir William Draper's, of May 21.
- June 24. Anti-Sejanus, Jun.
- Aug. 25. A Faithful Monitor, on the subject of Lord Townshend's appointment to be Lord Lieut. of Ireland, which took place the preceding Aug. 12.
- Sept. 16. Correggio.
- Oct. 12. Moderator in answer to a letter of October 6.
- 22. Grand Council.
- 31. No signature, in answer to a letter of Oct. 27.
- Dec. 5. Y. Z. on the King's speech, on opening the parliament Nov. 24, 1767: the receipt of which will be found acknowledged by the printer in his usual method among the "answers to correspondents," Nov. 30.

19. No signature, on the subject
of American politics.

22. Downright.

It is only necessary for the reader to compare these two lists of dates, and places; as for example, London, and Warsaw, or Kamineck, during the two months of May and August, and to observe the rapidity with which the Letters of JUNIUS were furnished, in answer to the different subjects discussed, to obtain a full proof that the latter list of letters could not have been written by the author of the former.

These remarks however relate only to the year 1767. Let us see how the account stands for 1769, being the year in which the author first appeared before the public under his favourite signature (with the single exception of Miscellaneous Letter, No. LII.) It is difficult to ascertain exactly at what places General Lee was residing during this period. Langworthy's memoirs abound with erroneous dates, which are not material however to the present question. The only serviceable hint that can be collected from them is, that he was rambling somewhere or other abroad, and "could never stay long in one place:" to which the editor adds, "that we can collect nothing material relative to the adventures of his travels, as his memorandum-books only mention the names of the towns and

cities through which he passed. That he was a most rapid and very active traveller is certain," p. 8. The account furnished by Rodney confirms this statement, by telling us, "He then proceeded to mention several circumstances to verify his being the author; and, among them, that of his going over to the Continent, and absenting himself from England most of the time in which these letters were first published in London, &c. &c. This he thought necessary, lest, by some accident, the author should become known, or, at least, suspected, which might have been his ruin, had he been known to the Court of London, &c."

It is clear, therefore, that during the whole or the greater part of 1769, General Lee was rambling over the continent; and of course had no possibility of keeping up a very close correspondence with any person at home. Yet the following table of the Letters of JUNIUS, written either under his favourite or occasional signatures, or privately to Mr. Woodfall, will shew that in the course of this very year, the author maintained not less than fifty-four communications with Mr. Woodfall: that not a single month passed without one or more act of intercourse: that some of them had not less than seven, and many of them not less than six, at times directed to events that had occurred only a few days

antecedently: that the two most distant communications were not more than three weeks apart, that several of them were daily, and the greater number of them not more than a week from each other.

1769.

January	21.	July	8	October	5.
February	7.	—	15.	—	13.*
—	21.	—	17.	—	17.
March	3.	—	19.	—	19.
—	18.	—	21.	—	20.
April	7.	—	29.	November	8.
—	10.	August	1.	—	12.
—	12.	—	6.	—	14
—	20.	—	8.	—	15.
—	21.	—	14.	—	16
—	24.	—	16.	—	25.
—	27.	—	22.	—	25.
May	6.	September	4.	—	29.
—	30.	—	7.	December	2.
June	6.	—	8.	—	12.
—	10.	—	10.	—	19.
—	12.	—	19.	—	19.
—	22.	—	25.	—	26.

There is but one conclusion that can be drawn from a perusal of this table: which is, that the writer of the letters of which it forms a diary, could not have been travelling over the continent during the year 1769 to which it is limited, and consequently that General Lee, who was travelling over the continent, and who

appears to have been chiefly in remote northern parts of it could not be JUNIUS.

*The editor has observed that it is equally obvious General Lee could not have been JUNIUS, from the different line of politics professed by the two characters; and not merely professed but fought for to his own outlawry by the former. JUNIUS, it has been already remarked, was a warm and determined friend to Mr. George Grenville: a zealous advocate for the stamp act, Mr. Grenville's most celebrated measure; and a decided upholder of the power of the British parliament to legislate for America, in the same manner as for any county in England. And it was because Mr. Lee was an inveterate oppugner of these doctrines, and was determined to fight against them, and even against his native country, if she insisted upon them, that he fled to the United States, took a lead in their armies, and powerfully contributed to their independence. The ensuing extracts taken from his letters contained in Mr. Langworthy's *Memoirs*, give his own opinions in his own words; and they may be compared with those of JUNIUS that follow the preceding extracts from Mr. Burke.

“ You tell me the Americans are the most merciful people on the face of the earth: I think so too; and the strongest instance of it is, that

they did not long ago hang up you, and *every advocate for the stamp act* ¹."

"As to the rest who form what is called the opposition, they are so odious or contemptible, that the favourite himself is preferable to them; such as GRENVILLE, Bedford, Newcastle, and their associates. Temple is one of the most ridiculous order of coxcombs²."

"A formidable opposition is expected; but the heads are too odious to the nation in general, in my opinion, to carry their point. Such as Bedford, Sandwich, G. GRENVILLE, and, with submission, your friend Mansfield³."

"We have had twenty different accounts of your arrival at Boston, which have been regularly contradicted the next morning; but as I now find it certain that you are arrived, I shall not delay a single instant addressing myself to you. It is a duty I owe to the friendship I have long and sincerely professed for you; a friendship to which you have the strongest claims from the first moment of our acquaintance; there is no man from whom I have received so many testimonies of esteem and affection; there is no man whose esteem and affection could in my opinion have done me greater honour. * *

¹ Memoirs, p. 54, in a letter to W. H. Drayton, a member of congress.

² Ib. p. 294.

³ Ib. p. 297.

* * * * * I shall not trouble you with my opinion of the right of taxing America without her own consent, as I am afraid from what I have seen of your speeches, that you have already formed your creed on this article; but I will boldly affirm, had this right been established by a thousand statutes, had America admitted it from time immemorial, it would be the duty of every good Englishman to exert his utmost to divest parliament of this right, as it must inevitably work the subversion of the whole empire. * * * * * On these principles, I say, Sir, every good Englishman, abstracted of all regard for America, must oppose her being taxed by the British parliament; for my own part I am convinced that no argument (not totally abhorrent from the spirit of liberty, and the British constitution,) can be produced in support of this right. * * * * *

* * * * * I have now, Sir, only to entreat, that whatever measure you pursue, whether those which your real friends (myself amongst the rest) would wish, or unfortunately those which our accursed misrulers shall dictate, you will still believe me to be personally, with the greatest sincerity and affection, yours, &c. C. Lee'."

It would be waste of time to pursue the

* Letter to persuade General Burgoyne to join the Americans Memoirs, p. 323—330. See JUNIUS's opinion of General Burgoyne, Vol. II. p. 58.

claim of General Lee any further: though a multitude of similar proofs to the same effect might be offered if necessary.

Another character to whom these letters have been ascribed is Mr. Wilkes; but that he is not the author of them must be clear to every one who will merely give a glance at either the public or the private letters. Wilkes could not have abused himself in the manner he is occasionally abused in the former; nor would he have said in the latter (since there was no necessity for his so saying) "I have been out of town for three weeks" at a time when he was closely confined in the King's Bench.

Of all the pretenders however to the honour of having written the letters of JUNIUS, Hugh Macauley Boyd has been brought forward with the most confidence: yet of all of them there is not one whose claims are so easily and completely refuted. It is nevertheless necessary, from the assurance with which they have been urged, to examine them with some degree of detail.

Hugh Macauley Boyd was an Irishman of a respectable family, who was educated for the bar, which he deserted, at an early age, for poli-

¹ Private Letters, No. 11. This letter is dated Nov. 8, 1769. Wilkes entered the King's Bench prison April 27, 1768, and was liberated April 18, 1770.—See further the private correspondence between JUNIUS and Mr. Wilkes.

tics, and an unsettled life, that perpetually involved him in pecuniary distresses; and who is known as the author of "*The Freeholder*," which he wrote at Belfast, in the beginning of 1776; "*The Whig*," consisting of a series of revolutionary papers which he published in the *London Courant*, between November, 1779, and March, 1780, and the "*Indian Observer*," a miscellany of periodical essays published at Madras in 1793'. In his public conversation he was an enthusiastic admirer of the style and principles of JUNIUS; and in his political effusions he perpetually strove to imitate his manner; and, in many instances, copied his sentences verbally. On the last account the three advocates for his fame, Mr. Almon who has introduced him into his *Biographical Anecdotes*, Mr. Campbell who has published a life of him, and prefixed it to a new edition of "*Boyd's Works*," and Mr. George Chalmers, who has entered largely into the subject, in his "*Appendix to the Supplemental Apology*," have strenuously contended that Boyd and JUNIUS were the same person; an opinion which, they

¹ He is also said by his friends to have written various letters in the *Public Advertiser*, in the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and afterwards in 1779; the former under a questionable signature, the latter under that of *Democrates* or *Democraticus*.

think, is rendered decisive from the following anecdote, as given in the words of Mr. Chalmers himself.

“ Boyd was in the habit of frequenting the shop of Almon, who detected him, as the writer of JUNIUS, as early as the autumn of 1769. At a meeting of the booksellers and printers, H. S. Woodfall read a letter of JUNIUS, which he had just received, because it contained a passage, that related to the business of the meeting. Almon had thereby an opportunity of seeing the hand-writing of the manuscript, without disclosing his thoughts of the discovery. The next time that Boyd called on him in Piccadilly, Almon said to him, ‘ I have seen a part of one of JUNIUS’s Letters, in manuscript, which I believe is your hand-writing.’ *Boyd instantly changed colour*; and after a short pause, he said, ‘ the similitude of hand-writing is not a conclusive fact,’ [proof.] Now, Almon does not deliver these intimations, as mere opinions; but, he speaks, like a witness, to facts, which he knows to be true. It is a fact, then, that Almon taxed Boyd with being the writer of JUNIUS’s Letters; that *Boyd thereupon changed colour*; and that he only turned off the imputation, by the obvious remark, that comparison of hand-writing is not decisive evidence, to prove the writer. Add to this testimony, that Boyd

was, by nature, *confident*, and, by habit, *a man of the town*, a sort of character, who is not apt to blush. From the epoch of this detection, it was the practice of Almon, when he was asked who was the writer of JUNIUS, to say, 'that he suspected JUNIUS was a broken gentleman, without a guinea in his pocket.'

Mr. Almon's own words in relating this anecdote are as follows: "The moment I saw the hand-writing I had a *strong suspicion* that it was Mr. Boyd's, whose hand-writing I knew, having received several letters from him concerning books." And he afterwards adds in reference to Boyd's reply to him, "though these words do not acknowledge the truth of the *suspicion*, they do not, however, positively deny it'."

This reply, that "the similitude of hand-writing is not a conclusive proof," is called by Mr. Chalmers an "*obvious remark*;" he might have added that the remark is just as *general* as it is *obvious*, and consequently that it admits of no *particular* deduction. It neither denies nor affirms, but leaves the question, or rather the *suspicion*, precisely where it was at first.

But, say these gentlemen, it was preceded by a *change of colour*: yet whether this change were to a flush or a paleness, or any other hue

* Letter from J. Almon to L. D. Campbell, Esq. Dec. 10, 1798.

does not appear. Let it be taken for granted, however, that they mean Macauley Boyd *blushed*, and consequently that he exhibited, on the spur of the moment, a secret sense of shame: yet what had that man to be ashamed of, upon a detection of this kind, who openly gloried in the principles of JUNIUS, who had carried his own avowed sentiments immeasurably farther, who was for ever publicly imitating his style and copying his phrases?—this man, who was “by nature *confident*, and by habit *a man of the town*, a sort of character who is not apt to blush,” nothing surely could have given him a higher delight than to have been suspected to have been JUNIUS himself; nothing could more agreeably have flattered his vanity. His cheeks *glowed* with a *flush* of rapture upon the supposed detection, and he could not even consent to dissipate the fond illusion by telling the whole truth. *Shame* he could not feel; and as to the passion of *fear* it must not be mentioned for a moment: *fear* would have made him *turn pale*, but not have *blushed*.

Yet these gentlemen, in the ardour of their pursuit, prove too much for their own cause; since we at length find that, after all, there was NO SIMILITUDE of hand-writing whatever, or at least none that could answer their purpose.

The letter shewn by Woodfall, Almon asserted to be in the *common* hand-writing of Boyd, the hand-writing employed by him in his common and avowed transactions, and that he knew it to be Boyd's on this very account. Now it so happened that Mr. Woodfall was also well acquainted, in consequence of a similar correspondence, with the hand-writing of Mr. Boyd; and Woodfall, whose veracity could not be questioned, and who had far better opportunities of comparing the autographs together, denied that the letters of JUNIUS were written in the hand-writing of Boyd; adding, that Almon, from the casual glance he had obtained, had conjectured erroneously. The difficulty was felt and acknowledged; and the following ingenious expedient was devised to get rid of it. It was contended that Boyd had, about the period of JUNIUS's first appearance, accustomed himself to what he used to call, and his commentators and biographers call after him, a *disguised* hand; and that he uniformly employed this *disguised* hand in writing these letters, in order to prevent detection. And this ingenious discovery was afterwards brought forward as an evidence of Boyd's good sense and discretion, and an additional demonstration that he was the actual writer of these letters. "It

would require strong proof indeed," says Mr. Chalmers, "to satisfy a reasonable mind, that the writer of JUNIUS's Letters would send them to the printer in his real hand-writing. It is impossible to conceive, that such a man, as Boyd, would take such successful pains to disguise his hand-writing, if he had not had some design to deceive the world."

But this is to involve the argument in even more self-contradiction than ever. JUNIUS, whoever he was, wrote his letters, we are told, in a *disguised hand-writing*, in order to avoid detection: the letter which Almon saw was not in a *disguised hand-writing*, but in the open and *avowed hand-writing* of Boyd, with which Almon was well acquainted, and which was made use of by Boyd in his common transactions and correspondence. Upon their own reasoning therefore, Boyd could *not* have been the author of the letters of JUNIUS.

But we are told, in reply to this second difficulty, that the disguised hand-writing of Boyd, though different from his common hand-writing, was nevertheless not so different, but that those who were familiar with the latter could easily trace its origin, and identify it with the former: "I have already proved," says Mr. Campbell, "that those who were acquainted with the *one*, would, upon inspection of the *other*, discover a

strong resemblance between them'.¹ The result of course is, that Almon penetrated the deception, although from a momentary glance, while Woodfall was incapable of doing so, notwithstanding his superior opportunities. Yet surely never was such a *disguise* either attempted or conceived before. The author wishes, we are told, to dissemble his hand-writing, in order to avoid detection; and he devises a *disguised* hand-writing that can only be traced home, and identified by those who are acquainted with his common hand-writing; as if his common hand-writing could be identified by strangers as a matter of course.

A *disguised* hand-writing that should conceal him from all who were ignorant of his *real* hand-writing, and expose him to all who were acquainted with it, was a truly brilliant invention, and altogether worthy of Mr. Boyd's country and pretensions. Yet after all, we must not forget, that the hand-writing supposed to have been seen by Almon, if Boyd's at all, was not the mystical, esoteric autography, the *ισα γραμματα* of the initiated, the disguised character that could be detected by nobody but those who were acquainted with his common writing, but the common and undisguised character itself,

¹ Life of Boyd, p. 157.

his general and avowed hand-writing employed on purposes of ordinary business, and which, says Mr. Almon, "I knew," in consequence of "having received several letters from him CONCERNING BOOKS."

But this is not the only disguise which Mr. Boyd must have had recourse to, and which he is admitted to have had recourse to, if he were the real author of these celebrated epistles. He must have disguised his *usual style* even more than his *usual hand-writing*, and that by the very extraordinary assumption of an excellence which does not elsewhere appear to have belonged to him; for it is not pretended by any of his advocates that the *general merit* of any one of his *acknowledged* productions is equal to the *general merit* of the letters of JUNIUS; but merely asserted that there is in his works a *general imitation* of the manner of the latter, together with an occasional copy of his very phrases and images, and that he has *at times* produced passages not inferior to some of the best that JUNIUS ever wrote. "Of all the characters," says Mr. Chalmers himself, "who knew Boyd personally, I have only met with *one* gentleman who is of opinion that he was able to write JUNIUS's letters¹." And Mr. Campbell has hence conceived it neces-

¹ Supplement, p. 94.

sary to offer two reasons for this palpable inferiority of style. The one is, that all the *acknowledged* productions of Boyd were written in a hurry,—*stans pede in uno*—while the letters of JUNIUS, contrary indeed to his otherwise uniform method, were possibly composed with considerable pains, and corrected by numerous revisions. The other consists of a long extract from the Rambler, in denial of the position that “because a man has once written well, he can never under any circumstances write ill’.”

Now the whole of this reasoning, if *reasoning* it may be called, is founded on gratuitous assumptions alone, and may be just as fairly applied to any one else of the supposed writers of the Letters of JUNIUS as to Mr. Boyd. It is admitted that he occasionally wrote passages of considerable merit; and it is admitted also, that he was an imitator of JUNIUS’s style, and a frequent copyist of his very words and images. But this last fact is against Boyd, instead of being in his favour, for the style of JUNIUS is original and strictly his own, he is nowhere a copyist, and much less a copyist of himself. Boyd might characteristically write, as he has done in his Freeholder, “long enough have our eyes ached over this barren prospect, where no verdure of virtue quickens,” because JUNIUS before him had writ-

‘ Campbell’s Life of Boyd, p. 31.

ten, "I turn with pleasure from that *barren waste in which* no salutary plant takes root, *no verdure quickens;*" but JUNIUS could not write so, because his genius was far too fertile for him to be driven to the dire necessity of copying from his own metaphors, and even had he done it in the present instance, he was too manly a writer to have introduced into the simile the affected and contemptible alliteration of "*verdure of virtue.*"

If Boyd therefore wrote JUNIUS, he must have been possessed of powers of which he has never otherwise given any evidence whatever, and must not only have *disguised his hand*, but as was well observed on a former occasion by the late Mr. W. Woodfall, have *disguised his style* at the same time; and this too "in that most extraordinary way of writing above his own reach of literary talent," judging of his abilities from every existing and *acknowledged* document. To conceive that a man of versatile genius might disguise his accustomed style of writing by adopting some other style *on a level with his own*, is not difficult; but to conceive, under the circumstances of his *authenticated* talents, that Boyd could disguise his avowed style by assuming that of JUNIUS, is to conceive, though the difference between them was not altogether so extreme, that a sign-post painter might disguise himself

under the style of Sir Joshua Reynolds, or a street-fiddler under that of Cramer.

In effect Boyd appears to have been an enthusiastic admirer of the writings of JUNIUS, ambitious enough to try to imitate them, and vain enough to wish to be thought the author of them. By the deep interest he displayed in their behalf, he *once or twice*¹ induced his wife to challenge him with having written them;—when accidentally taxed by Almon with the same fact, he could not restrain his feelings, and his cheeks flushed with rapture beneath the suspicion; and when, upon a visit to Ireland in the year 1776, he wrote his address to the electors of Antrim, under the title of “The Freeholder,” he so far succeeded by eulogizing JUNIUS, by quoting his letters, and imitating his manner, as to induce a few other persons to entertain the same idea, and, what was of no small gratification to him, to acquire the honour of being generally denominated Junius the second. Yet, say his advocates, he never dared to avow that he was JUNIUS, because JUNIUS had declared in his Dedication, “I am the sole depositary of my own secret, and it shall perish with me.”

Upon the whole, however, these visits to

¹ Campbell's Life of Boyd, p. 136.

Ireland are by no means favourable to Mr. Boyd's claims; for the letters of JUNIUS published in August, 1768, under the signatures of Atticus and Lucius, were written during one of them; and from the rapidity with which they seized hold of the events of the moment, and replied to the numerous vindications and apologies of the government-party, *must have been written* (not at Belfast) but *in London, or its immediate vicinity*¹.

¹ Campbell, in his Life of Boyd, p. 22, relates the following anecdote of that gentleman, which occurred during the before-mentioned visit to Ireland in the summer of 1768. "One evening while Mr. Flood sat at his own table, after dinner, entertaining a large company, of which Mr. Boyd was one, he received an anonymous note, enclosing a letter on the state of parties, signed *Sindercombe*. The note contained a request that Mr. Flood would peruse the inclosed letter, and that if it met his approbation he would get it published, which he accordingly did in a paper of the following morning, and the letter produced a very strong sensation on the public mind." Mr. Campbell proceeds to state that "every endeavour was made, without effect, to discover the author: that Mrs. Boyd always thought that *Sindercombe* was her husband's production, and that many years afterwards she was satisfied that her conjecture was founded in fact." If Mrs. Boyd were correct in her conjecture, as to her husband being the author of the letter under this signature, it would, of itself, all but indisputably, prove that he was not the writer of the Letters of JUNIUS; as on Dec. 26, 1772, nearly twelve months after JUNIUS had ceased to publish under this signature, and many months after he had declined to write under any other, *Sindercombe* addresses the following card to him:

While his visit to the same country in 1772 was chiefly in consequence of extreme pecuniary distress, which had oppressed him for the preceding eighteen months or two years, and had driven him from the world, through a fear of being arrested; such were the opposite circumstances of JUNIUS, that the latter was refusing at this very moment, the moiety of the profits resulting from the sale of his own edition of his letters, repeatedly pressed upon him, and to which he was fairly entitled; and, offering, from a competent purse, a pecuniary indemnification to Woodfall on account of his prosecution by the crown.

There is, however, a note inserted in JUNIUS'S

"For the Public Advertiser."

A CARD. - Dec. 26, 1772.

"SINDERCOMBE laments that JUNIUS is silent at a season that demands his utmost eloquence. Sindercombe has long waited with impatience for the completion of that promise, in which every friend to liberty is so deeply interested. JUNIUS has long since pledged himself that the corrupt administration of Lord Townshend in Ireland 'shall not be lost to the public.' He now calls upon JUNIUS to fulfil that promise."

That is Boyd, the writer of JUNIUS, as Campbell contends, calls upon himself to fulfil a promise that he had not the smallest intention to perform, as may be seen by reference to Private Letter, No. 63. Sindercombe is a signature of considerable peculiarity, and never appeared in the Public Advertiser during any part of the time that the author, as JUNIUS, was a correspondent in that paper, which the reader will see was from April 28, 1767, to May 12, 1772. EDIT.

own edition of 'these letters', in relation to Lord Irnham, and his baseness to a young and confidential friend, that has been conceived by these same gentlemen as almost decisive in favour of Mr. Boyd's pretensions; the young man here alluded to, having been, as it should seem, one of Mrs. Boyd's guardians; the two families to which the fact relates, from the peculiar motives they possessed for keeping it a secret, not being supposed to have divulged it to any one, and Mrs. Boyd herself having only communicated it in strict confidence to her husband. Yet the reader of the ensuing Private Letters, after witnessing the rapidity with which JUNIUS became informed of Mr. Garrick's intimation to the King, and Swinney's visit to Lord G. Sackville, will have no difficulty in conceiving that JUNIUS, though totally unacquainted with Mr. Boyd or his family, might have easily acquired a knowledge of secrets far more securely locked up than the present. In reality, from Mr. Campbell's own relation of this anecdote, it seems rather a matter of wonder that it should have been a secret to any one, than that it should have been known to JUNIUS at the time of his narrating it; for it appears that at least six persons were privy to the transaction almost from its first existence: the debauchee and the

* See Vol. II. p. 402 of this work.

prostitute, the injured bridegroom and his two brothers, and Mrs. Boyd as a part of the bridegroom's family'.—Yet, from these three slender

¹ In point of fact, the anecdote here referred to, was publicly known and propagated not less than three years earlier than the first edition of the Letters of JUNIUS, in which it is introduced as a note. For it appears in a letter in the Public Advertiser of April 7, 1769, with the signature of *Recens*, written by this same JUNIUS; from which the note in question is but a mere transcript, and given without altering a word. And yet Mr. Almon, in the preface to his own edition of JUNIUS's letters, in which he has taken care to bestow abundant abuse on the Printer of the Public Advertiser and his brother, because they did not chuse to unfold to him all they were acquainted with on this subject, has not scrupled to assert with his usual confidence, that "this note *certainly* was not written till after JUNIUS having finally ceased to write under that signature, collected his letters and published them together, with many additions; which was in the course of 1772." Pref. p. lvi. This, however, is only one specimen of Mr. Almon's general accuracy in the prosecution of his favourite topic: yet it is useless to add more: the death of the writer has put him beyond all power of reply; nor should even this have been noticed, but to shew how absurd were the pretensions of a man, so vain, so precipitate, and so incautious, to the character of an oracle upon this or any other subject; and how insolent it was in him to charge others with ignorance, incapacity and falsehood, who were possessed of better sources of information, and evinced a more punctilious adherence to truth. The letter itself is as follows: and it is copied for a comparison with the note.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

MR. WOODFALL,

7 April, 1769.

THERE is a certain family in this country, on which nature seems to have entailed an hereditary baseness of disposition.

As

facts,—Boyd's imitation of the style of JUNIUS, Almon's suspicion concerning his hand-writing, and the anecdote of Lord Irnham, in conjunc-

As far as their history has been known, the son has regularly improved upon the vices of his father, and has taken care to transmit them pure and undiminished into the bosom of his successor. In the senate, their abilities have confined them to those humble, sordid services, in which the scavengers of the ministry are usually employed. But in the memoirs of private treachery, they stand first and unrivalled. The following story will serve to illustrate the character of this respectable family, and to convince the world that the present possessor has as clear a title to the infamy of his ancestors, as he has to their estate. It deserves to be recorded for the curiosity of the fact, and should be given to the public as a warning to every honest member of society.

The present Lord Irnham, who is now in the decline of life, lately cultivated the acquaintance of a younger brother of a family, with which he had lived in some degree of intimacy and friendship. The young man had long been the dupe of a most unhappy attachment to a common prostitute. His friends and relations foresaw the consequences of this connexion, and did every thing that depended upon them to save him from ruin. But he had a friend in Lord Irnham, whose advice rendered all their endeavours ineffectual. This hoary lecher, not contented with the enjoyment of his friend's mistress, was base enough to take advantage of the passions and folly of a young man, and persuaded him to marry her. He descended even to perform the office of father to the prostitute. He gave her to his friend, who was on the point of leaving the kingdom, and the next night lay with her himself.

Whether the depravity of the human heart can produce any thing more base and detestable than this fact, must be left undetermined, until the son shall arrive at his father's age and experience.

RECENS.

tion with a few others of a nature merely collateral; and which, when separated from them, prove nothing whatever, these gentlemen undertake to "regard it as a moral certainty that Macaulay Boyd did write the Letters of JUNIUS'."

The late Mr. Woodfall, indeed, made no scruple of denying the assertion peremptorily, admitting at the same time, that he was not absolutely certain who did write them. But this testimony, it seems, though from the printer of the letters themselves, and who, moreover, through the whole period of their publication, was in habits of confidential correspondence with the author, is of no consequence. Let us see by what curious process of logic this testimony is attempted to be invalidated: the reader will meet with it in Mr. Chalmers's pamphlet, who thus observes and reasons:

"A few weeks after the publication of Almon's anecdotes, in 1797, Mr. H. S. Woodfall, meeting the anecdote writer at Longman's shop, complimented him on his entertaining book; but said that he was mistaken, in supposing Mr. Boyd to have been the author of JUNIUS's Letters; and then added, with an *emphasis*, that Mr. Boyd was not the author of them.' To these emphatical observations Mr. Almon re-

¹ See Chalmers's Supplement, p. 94. Campbell's Life, 173, 277.

plied, ‘ that he had no doubt of Mr. Boyd’s being the author of those letters ; that as you, Mr. H. S. Woodfall, never knew who was the author, you cannot undertake to say who was *not* the author of those letters.’ Mr. Woodfall departed without making any reply. What reply could he make ? It is absurd in any man, who does not know the true author of JUNIUS’s letters, to say, that Macaulay Boyd was *not* the writer of them, in opposition to affirmative proofs. Yet, Mr. H. S. Woodfall afterwards told Mr. L. D. Campbell, that ‘ Mr. Boyd was *not* the writer of JUNIUS’s letters,’ without pretending, however, that he knew the true author.”

Now every one who knew Mr. H. S. Woodfall, knew him also to be a man of strict, unimpeachable veracity ; a man who would not have ventured to have spoken decisively upon this or any other point, if he had not had very sufficient grounds. We are asked what reply he could have made ? and are told that his negative assertion was *absurd* against the *affirmative proofs* offered. These *affirmative proofs* have been already sufficiently noticed ; our next business then is to state what reply Mr. Woodfall could have made if he had chosen, and perhaps would have made if he had been differently addressed, of the *absurdity* of which the reader shall determine when he has perused it : it shall be founded upon *ne-*

gative arguments alone. Woodfall well knew the hand-writings of both JUNIUS and Boyd, and was in possession of many copies of both; and knowing them, he well knew they were different. He well knew that JUNIUS was a man directly implicated in the circle of the court, and immediately privy to its most secret intrigues: and that Boyd was very differently situated, and that whatever information he collected was by circuitous channels alone. JUNIUS he knew to be a man of affluence, considerably superior to his own wants, refusing remunerations to which he was entitled, and offering reimbursements to those who suffered on his account:—Boyd to be labouring under great pecuniary difficulties, and ready to accept whatever was offered him; or, in the language of Mr. Almon, “a broken gentleman without a guinea in his pocket.” JUNIUS he knew to be a man of considerably more than his own age, who from a long and matured experience of the world, was entitled to read him lessons of moral and prudential philosophy; Boyd to be at the same time a very young man¹, who had not even reached his majority, totally without plan, and almost without experience of any kind, who

¹ Boyd was born in October 1746, and JUNIUS's first letter, under the signature of Poplicola, appeared in the Public Advertiser April 28, 1767, when Boyd had not, as yet, attained his 21st year.

in the prospect of divulging himself to Woodfall, could not possibly have written to him "after a LONG *experience of the world*, I affirm before God I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy¹." Boyd he knew to be an imitator and copyist of JUNIUS; JUNIUS to be no imitator or copyist of any man, and least of all of himself. JUNIUS he knew to be a decided mixt-monarchist, who opposed the ministry upon constitutional principles; Boyd to be a wild, random republican, who opposed them upon revolutionary views: JUNIUS to be a writer who could not have adopted the signature of Democrates or Democraticus; Boyd a writer who could, and who, we are told did do so, in perfect uniformity with his political creed. Woodfall, it is true, did not pretend to know JUNIUS personally, but from his hand-writing, his style of composition, age, politics, rank in life, and pecuniary affluence, he was perfectly assured that JUNIUS COULD NOT BE BOYD.

It was possible therefore for Mr. H. S. Woodfall to have made *some reply* if he had chosen; and it was possible also for him to have said, *without absurdity*, and in opposition to the *affirmative proofs* of his biographers, that Macaulay Boyd was *not* the writer of JUNIUS's Letters.

A thousand other proofs, equally cogent and insurmountable, might be advanced, if neccs-

¹ Private Letters, No. 44.

sary, against the pretensions of Mr. Boyd. Among these let the reader compare the letter of JUNIUS, subscribed Vindex, March 6, 1771, Miscellaneous Letters, No. xci, in which he publicly ridicules Mr. Laughlin Maclean, upon his defence of the ministry, in regard to the Falkland Islands. Mr. Laughlin Maclean is well known to have been the best and steadiest friend that Boyd ever possessed; and a friend who adhered to him uninterruptedly from 1764 to 1778¹, in which year Maclean commenced a

¹ See Mr. Campbell's Life of Boyd, p. 117, 125, 209, 210. In p. 141, he gives us the following account of Mr. Boyd, in support of his assertion that he was the writer of these letters. "From this time [Nov. 27, 1771,] till the 20th of January following, Mr. Boyd's whole time was occupied in examining the law books and state trials above mentioned, and in writing with his usual secrecy for the Public Advertiser: JUNIUS's elaborate letter to Lord Mansfield, in which he strove hard to make good his charge against him, is dated the 21st of January, 1772: about three weeks after the publication of this letter, Mr. Boyd went to Ireland; and JUNIUS ceased to write under that signature for the Public Advertiser." The reader will perceive by a reference to Private Letters, Nos. 40 and 48, that the letter to Lord Mansfield was finished some considerable time before it made its appearance in the Public Advertiser; and by comparing the dates of the Private Letters, subsequent to that publication, up to March 5, 1772, of which there are no less than seven, he will be satisfied that it was totally impossible for the writer of the Letters of JUNIUS to be in Ireland at the period described by Mr. Campbell.

voyage to India upon official business relating to the Nabob of Arcot." It was Maclean who, according to his biographer, furnished Boyd with the greater part of the secret transactions of our own government, and the intelligence he made use of in relation to the oriental concerns of the Nabob Mahomed Ali Khaân; who largely and liberally assisted him with pecuniary aid while at home, and "faithfully promised him he would, upon his return from India, assist in clearing him from all his pecuniary difficulties." The proofs are unquestionable, that the above letter was written by JUNIUS; and that he wrote it also in contempt and ridicule of Laughlin Maclean, who instead of being, as Mr. Campbell affirms, an opponent of the ministry at this time, was an avowed defendant of them. — Will Mr. Boyd's biographers and advocates, after this anecdote, so far vilify his memory as to contend that it was written by himself?

Of all the reputed authors of these celebrated addresses, Dunning, Lord Ashburton, offers the largest aggregate of claim in his favour; and, but for a few facts which seem decisive against him, might fairly be admitted to have been the real JUNIUS. His age and rank in life, his talents and learning, his brilliant wit, and sarcastic habit, his common residence, during the period in question, his political prin-

ciples, attachments and antipathies conspire in marking him as the man: but unfortunately for such a conclusion, Dunning was solicitor-general at the time these letters first appeared, and for more than a twelvemonth afterwards: and JUNIUS himself has openly and solemnly affirmed, “*I am no lawyer by profession; nor do I pretend to be more deeply read than every English gentleman should be in the laws of his country*’.” Dunning was a man of high unblemished honour, as well as of high independent principles; it cannot therefore be supposed that he would have vilified the King, while one of the King’s confidential servants and counsellors: nor would he, as a barrister, have written to Woodfall in the course of a confidential correspondence, “*I am advised that no jury will find*” a bill².

Another person who has had a claim advanced in his favour upon the same subject, is the late celebrated Henry Flood, M. P. of Ireland. This claim has only been urged within the last few weeks. Now, without wandering at large for proofs that Mr. Flood could not have been the writer of the Letters of JUNIUS, it is only sufficient to call the reader’s attention to the two following facts:

First, Mr. Flood was in Ireland throughout

¹ Preface, p. 10.

² Private Letters, No. 18.

a great part of the summer of 1768, and at a time when JUNIUS, whoever he may have been, was perpetually corresponding with the printer of the Public Advertiser, and with a rapidity which could not have been maintained, not only in Ireland, but even at a hundred, and occasionally at less than fifty miles distance from the British metropolis. This fact may be collected, among other authorities, from the following passage in Mr. Campbell's Life of Boyd, and is just as adverse to the pretensions of the one as of the other.

“ In the summer of 1768 Boyd went to Ireland for a few months, on some private business. During his stay in Dublin he was constantly in the company of Mr. Flood.”

Next, by turning to the Private Letters of JUNIUS, No. 44, of the date of Nov. 27, 1771, the reader will find the following paragraph: “ I fear your friend Jerry Dyson *will* lose his Irish pension.—Say “ received.” The mark “ *received*” occurs accordingly in the Public Advertiser of the day ensuing. Now by turning to the Irish debates of this period, we shall find that the question concerning this pension was actually determined by the Irish parliament just two days before the date of the above mentioned Private Letter, and that Mr. Flood was one of the principal opponents of the grant, a circum-

stance which precludes the possibility of believing him to have written the letter in question. We shall extract the article from whence this information is derived, from the Public Advertiser of Dec. 18, 1771.

“ Authentic copy of the conclusion of the speech which Mr. Flood made in the Irish House of Commons, on Monday the 25th of November last, when the debate on the pension of Jeremiah Dyson, Esq. came on before the committee of supplies :

“—— But of all the burthens which it has pleased government to lay upon our devoted shoulders, that which is the subject of the present debate is the most grievous and intolerable. —Who does not know Jeremiah Dyson, Esq. ?— We know little of him indeed, otherwise than by his name in our pension list ; but there are others who know him by his actions. This is he who is endued with those happy talents, that he has served every administration, and served every one with equal success—a civil, pliable, good-natured gentleman, who will do what you will, and say what you please—for payment.

“ Here Mr. Flood was interrupted, and called to order by Mr. M——, who urged that more respect ought to be paid to Mr. Dyson as one of his Majesty’s officers, and, as such, one

whom his Majesty was graciously pleased to repose confidence in. However Mr. Flood went on.

“ As to the royal confidence reposed in Mr. Dyson, his gracious Majesty (whom God long preserve) has been graciously lavish of it, not only to Mr. Dyson, but to the friends of Mr. Dyson; and I think the choice was good : The royal secrets will, I dare say, be very secure in their breasts, not only for the love they bear to his gracious Majesty, but for the love they bear to themselves. In the present case, however, we do not want to be informed of that part of Mr. Dyson’s character—we know enough of him—every body knows enough of him—ask the British treasury—the British council—ask any Englishman who he is, what he is—they can all tell you, for the gentleman is well known.—But what have we to do with him? He never served Ireland, nor the friends of Ireland. And if this distressed kingdom was never benefited by his counsel, interest, or service, I see no good cause why this kingdom should reward him. Let the honourable members of this house consider this, and give their voices accordingly.—For God’s sake let every man consult his conscience : If Jeremiah Dyson, Esq. shall be found to deserve this pension, let it be continued ; if not, let it be lopped off our revenue as burthensome and unnecessary.”

Let us proceed to the pretensions that have been offered on the part of Lord George Sackville as the real JUNIUS. The evidence is somewhat indecisive even to the present hour. Sir William Draper divided his suspicions between this nobleman and Mr. Burke, and upon the personal and unequivocal denial of the latter, he transferred them entirely to the former: and that Sir William was not the only person who suspected his Lordship even from the first, is evident from the Private Letter of JUNIUS, which asserts that Swinney had actually called upon Lord Sackville and taxed him with being JUNIUS, to his face'. This letter is, in fact, one of the most curious of the whole collection: if written by Lord George Sackville it settles the point at once; and, if not written by him, presupposes an acquaintance with his Lordship's family, his sentiments and his connexions so intimate as to excite no small degree of astonishment. JUNIUS was informed of Swinney's having called upon Lord George Sackville, a few hours after his call, and he knew that *before this time* he had never spoken to him in his life. It is certain then, that Lord George Sackville was early and generally suspected, that JUNIUS knew him to be suspected

' Private Letters, No. 5.

without denying, as in the case of the author of "The Whig", &c." that he was suspected wrongfully; and that this nobleman, if not JUNIUS himself, must have been in habits of close and intimate friendship with him. The talents of Lord George Sackville were well known and admitted, and his political principles led him to the same side of the question that was so warmly espoused by JUNIUS. It is said, however, that on one occasion his Lordship privately observed to a friend of his, "I should be proud to be capable of writing as JUNIUS has done; but there are many passages in his letters I should be very sorry to have written²." Such a declaration, however, is too general to be in any way conclusive: even JUNIUS himself might, in a subsequent period, have regretted that he had written some of the passages that occur in his letters. In the case of his letter to Junia, we know he did from his own avowal. It is nevertheless peculiarly hostile to the opinion in favour of Lord George Sackville, that JUNIUS should roundly have accused him of want of courage, as he has done in Vol. II. p. 491. The facts, however, are fairly before the reader, and he shall be left to the exercise of his own judgment.

¹ Private Letters, No. 23. ² See Chalmers's Appendix to the Supplemental Apology, p. 7.

PRIVATE LETTERS

OF

JUNIUS

ADDRESSED TO

MR. H. S. WOODFALL.

PRIVATE LETTERS

OF

J U. N I U S.

N^o 1.

MR. WOODFALL.

SIR,

April 20, 1769.

I AM preparing a paper, which you shall have on or before Saturday night. Advertise it for Monday ¹. JUNIUS on Monday.

C.

If any enquiry is made about these papers, I shall rely on your giving me a hint.

N^o 2.

SIR,

Friday, May 5th, 1769².

It is essentially necessary that the inclosed should be published to-morrow, as the great

¹ JUNIUS, Letter xi.

² This note was addressed to Mr. Woodfall, with a desire that it should "be opened by himself only."

question comes on on Monday, and Lord Granby is already staggered'.

If you should receive an answer to it, you will oblige me much by not publishing it, till after Monday.

*

C.

' The letter is printed in the Miscellaneous Collection, No. lv. and the great question alluded to was upon the Middlesex petition against the seating of Cc'. Luttrell for that county. The debate took place on Monday the 8th of May in the House of Commons, and continued from half past one o'clock in the afternoon, till half past four the next morning, when, upon a division, there appeared for the petition 152, against it 221. The speakers on this occasion, in favour of the petition, were Mr. Dowdeswell, Lord J. Cavendish, Mr. Wedderburne, Mr. Grenville, Mr. Cornwall, Mr. Burke, Mr. Seymour, and Sir George Saville: those against it, Mr. Stanley, Sir G. Osborne, Dr. Blackstone, Mr. W. Ellis, Mr. Thurlow, Mr. C. J. Fox, Mr. Moreton, and Sir F. Norton.

In consequence of the rejection of the petition to the House of Commons, the following was soon afterwards presented to the King; which we insert, as we shall also, in their due places, those of London and Westminster, upon similar subjects, with a view of giving some idea of the general politics of the day, and the warmth of the respective controversies that distinguished it.

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"The humble petition of the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

"*Most gracious Sovereign,*

"We, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex, beg leave with all affectionate submission and humility, to throw ourselves at
your

your royal feet, and humbly to implore your paternal attention to those grievances of which this county and the whole nation complain, and those fearful apprehensions with which the whole British empire is most justly alarmed.

“With great grief and sorrow, we have long beheld the endeavours of certain evil-minded persons, who attempt to infuse into your royal mind, notions and opinions of the most dangerous and pernicious tendency, and who promote and counsel such measures as cannot fail to destroy that harmony and confidence which should ever subsist between a just and virtuous Prince, and a free and loyal people.

“For this disaffected purpose they have introduced into every part of the administration of our happy, legal constitution, a certain unlimited and indefinite discretionary power; to prevent which is the sole aim of all our laws, and was the sole cause of all those disturbances and revolutions which formerly distracted this unhappy country; for our ancestors, by their own fatal experience, well knew that in a state where discretion begins, law, liberty and safety end. Under the pretence of this discretion, or, as it was formerly, and has been lately called—Law of state—we have seen

“English subjects, and even a member of the British Legislature, arrested by virtue of a general warrant issued by a secretary of state, contrary to the law of the land.—

“Their houses rifled and plundered, their papers seized, and used as evidence upon trial.—

“Their bodies committed to close imprisonment.—

“The Habeas Corpus eluded.—

“Trial by jury discountenanced, and the first law officer of the crown publicly insinuating that juries are not to be trusted.

“Printers punished by the ministry in the supreme court without a trial by their equals, without any trial at all.—

“The remedy of the law for false imprisonment debarred and defeated.—

“The

two other branches, and therefore a manifest infringement of the constitution.

“Public money shamefully squandered and unaccounted for, and all enquiry into the cause of arrears into the civil list prevented by the ministry.

“Enquiry into a pay-master’s public accounts stopped in the Exchequer, though the sums unaccounted for by that pay-master amount to above forty millions sterling.—

“Public loans perverted to private ministerial purposes.—

“Prostitution of public honours and rewards to men who can neither plead public virtue nor services.—

“Irreligion and immorality so eminently discountenanced by your Majesty’s royal example, encouraged by administration, both by example and precept.—

“The same discretion has been extended by the same evil counsellors to your Majesty’s dominions in America, and has produced to our suffering fellow-subjects in that part of the world, grievances and apprehensions similar to those which we complain of at home.—

“*Most gracious Sovereign,*

“Such are the grievances and apprehensions which have long discontented and disturbed the greatest and best part of your Majesty’s loyal subjects. Unwilling however to interrupt your royal repose, though ready to lay down our lives and fortunes for your Majesty’s service, and for the constitution as by law established, we have waited patiently expecting a constitutional remedy by the means of our own representatives, but our legal and free choice having been repeatedly rejected, and the right of election now finally taken from us by the unprecedented seating of a candidate who was never chosen by the county, and who, even to become a candidate, was obliged fraudulently to vacate his seat in parliament, under the pretence of an insignificant place, invited thereto by the prior declaration of a minister, that whoever opposed our choice, though but with four votes, should be
4
declared

declared member for the county, we see ourselves by this last act, deprived even of the franchises of Englishmen, reduced to the most abject state of slavery, and left without hopes or means of redress but from your Majesty or God.

“ Deign then, most gracious Sovereign, to listen to the prayer of the most faithful of your Majesty’s subjects; and to banish from your royal favour, trust, and confidence, for ever, those evil and pernicious counsellors, who have endeavoured to alienate the affection of your Majesty’s most sincere and dutiful subjects, and whose suggestions tend to deprive your people of their dearest and most essential rights, and who have traitorously dared to depart from the spirit and letter of those laws which have secured the Crown of these realms to the House of Brunswick, in which we make our most earnest prayers to God that it may continue untarnished to the latest posterity.”

Signed by 1565 Freeholders.

N^o 3.

SIR,

Saturday, July 15th, 1769.

I HAVE received the favour of your note. From the contents of it, I imagine you may have something to communicate to me ; if that be the case, I beg you will be particular ; and also that you will tell me candidly whether you know or suspect who I am. Direct a letter to Mr. William Middleton¹ to be left at the bar

¹ “Mr. William Middleton’s Letter is sent as desired.” Answer to Correspondents in the P. A. of July 20th, 1769.

of the New Exchange Coffee-house on Monday as early as you think proper.

I am, Sir, your most obedient, and
most humble servant,

C.

N^o 4.

(Private)

SIR,

"

July 17th, 1769.

MR. Newberry having thought proper to reprint my Letters', I wish at least he had done it correctly. You will oblige me much by giving him the following hint ² to-morrow. The inclosed ³ when you think proper.

“ Mr. Newberry having thought proper to

¹ Newberry had thought proper at this time to publish a spurious and surreptitious edition of the first fifteen Letters, as printed in the author's edition, under the title of “The Political Contest;” and it was these unauthorized publications that gave the first idea of publishing a genuine edition of the whole.

² This request does not appear to have been complied with; as the following answer to correspondents was inserted in the Public Advertiser of the 18th of July:—“Reasons why the hint was not printed are sent to the last mentioned Coffee-house in the Strand, from whence our *old* correspondent will be pleased to send for them.”

³ JUNIUS, Letter XVI.

reprint JUNIUS's Letters, might at least have corrected the errata, as we did constantly.

Page 1, Line 13, for *national* read *rational*.

— 3, — 4, — *was* — *were*.

— 5, — 15, — *indisputable* — *indispensable*.

Letter 7, — 4, — *in all mazes* — *in all the mazes*.

— 15, — 24, — *rightest* — *brightest*.

— 48, — 2, — *indiscreet* — *indirect*."

I did not expect more than the life of a newspaper, but if this man will keep me alive, let me live without being offensive.

Speciosa quæro pascere tigres.

N^o 5.

SIR,

July 21st, 1769, Friday Night.

I CAN have no manner of objection to your reprinting the Letters, if you think it will answer, which I believe it might, before Newberry appeared. If you determine to do it, give me a hint, and I will send you more errata (indeed they are innumerable) and perhaps a Preface. I really doubt whether I shall write any more under this signature¹. I am weary of attacking a set of brutes, whose writings are too dull to furnish me even with the materials of contention, and whose measures are too gross

¹ See Dedication, p. 1.

and direct to be the subject of argument, or to require illustration.

That Swinney¹ is a wretched but a dangerous fool. He had the impudence to go to Lord G. Sackville, whom he had never spoken to, and to ask him whether or no he was the author of JUNIUS—take care of him.

Whenever you have any thing to communicate to me, let the hint be thus C *at the usual place*, and so direct to Mr. John Fretley, at the same Coffee-house, where it is absolutely impossible I should be known.

I did *not* mean the Latin to be printed.

I wish Lord Holland may acquit himself with honour². If his cause be good, he should at once have published that account, to which he refers in his letter to the Mayor³.

Pray tell me whether George Onslow means to keep his word with you about prosecuting⁴.

¹ A Correspondent of the Printer's.

² The Editor has already observed, in the Preliminary Essay, that JUNIUS appears to have uniformly entertained a good opinion of, or at least a partiality for, Lord Holland. The remark is not new; it was noticed long ago by several of his opponents. Thus, in a letter subscribed by our author, Anti-Fox, and inserted in the Public Advertiser of October 16th, 1771, he thus speaks of him: "I know nothing of JUNIUS; but I see plainly that he has designedly spared Lord Holland and his family."

³ See note A at the end of the Letter.

⁴ See note B at the end of the Letter.

Yes or *No* will be sufficient. Your Lycurgus¹ is a Mr. Kent, a young man of good parts upon town. And so I wish you a good night.

Yours,

C.

¹ Lycurgus was a frequent writer in the *Public Advertiser* during the spring and summer of 1769; and opposed the ministry, but with less violence than most of his contemporaries.

A.

He seems to refer to a charge of embezzlement of the public treasure, made in the City Petition presented to his Majesty, July 5th, 1769, of which the following is a copy:—

The humble Petition of the Livery of the City of London in Common Hall assembled.

“ Most gracious Sovereign,

“ We, your Majesty’s dutiful and loyal subjects, the Livery of the City of London, with all the humility which is due from free subjects to their lawful Sovereign, but with all the anxiety which the sense of the present oppressions, and the just dread of future mischiefs produce in our minds, beg leave to lay before your Majesty some of those intolerable grievances which your people have suffered from the evil conduct of those who have been intrusted with the administration of your Majesty’s government, and from the secret unremitting influence of the worst of counsellors.

“ We should be wanting in our duty to your Majesty, as well as to ourselves and our posterity, should we forbear to represent to the throne the desperate attempts which have been, and are too successfully made, to destroy that constitution,

tion, to the spirit of which we owe the relation which subsists between your Majesty and the subjects of these realms, and to subvert those sacred laws which our ancestors have sealed with their blood.

“ Your ministers, from corrupt principles, and in violation of every duty, have, by various enumerated means, invaded our invaluable and unalienable right of trial by jury.

“ They have, with impunity, issued general warrants, and violently seized persons and private papers.

“ They have rendered the laws non-effective to our security, by evading the Habeas Corpus.

“ They have caused punishments, and even perpetual imprisonment, to be inflicted without trial, conviction, or sentence.

“ They have brought into disrepute the civil magistracy, by the appointment of persons who are, in many respects, unqualified for that important trust, and have thereby purposely furnished a pretence for calling in the aid of a military power.

“ They avow, and endeavour to establish a maxim, absolutely inconsistent with our constitution, that ‘ an occasion for *effectually* employing a military force always presents itself when the civil power is *trifled with or insulted* ;’ and by a fatal and false application of this maxim, they have wantonly and wickedly sacrificed the lives of many of your Majesty’s innocent subjects, and have prostituted your Majesty’s sacred name and authority, to justify, applaud, and recommend their own illegal and bloody actions.

“ They have screened more than one murderer from punishment, and in its place have unnaturally substituted reward.

“ They have established numberless unconstitutional regulations and taxations in our colonies. They have caused a revenue to be raised in some of them by prerogative. They have appointed civil law judges to try revenue causes, and to be paid from out of the condemnation money.

“ After having insulted and defeated the law on different occasions, and by different contrivances, both at home and abroad,

abroad, they have at length completed their design, by violently wresting from the people the last sacred right we had left, the right of election; by the unprecedented seating of a candidate notoriously set up and chosen *only* by themselves. They have thereby taken from your subjects all hopes of parliamentary redress, and have left us no resource, under God, but in your Majesty.

"All this they have been able to effect by corruption; by a scandalous misapplication and embezzlement of the public treasure, and a shameful prostitution of public honours and employments; procuring deficiencies of the civil list to be made good without examination; and, instead of punishing, conferring honours on a pay-master, the public defaulter of unaccounted millions.

"From an unfeigned sense of the duty we owe to your Majesty, and to our country, we have ventured thus humbly to lay before the throne these great and important truths, which it has been the business of your ministers to conceal. We most earnestly beseech your Majesty to grant us redress. It is for the purpose of redress alone, and for such occasions as the present, that these great and extensive powers are intrusted to the crown, by the wisdom of that constitution, which your Majesty's illustrious family was chosen to defend, and which we trust in God, it will for ever continue to support."

Lord Holland suspecting himself to be implicated in the last paragraph but one of the above petition, addressed the following letter to the Lord Mayor upon this subject:—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD MAYOR.

"My Lord,

"In a petition presented by your Lordship it is mentioned as a grievance, *Instead of punishing, conferring honours on a pay-master, the public defaulter of unaccounted millions.* I am told that I am the pay-master here censured: may I beg to know of your Lordship if it is so? If it is, I am

sure Mr. Beckford must have been against it, because he knows, and could have shewn your Lordship in writing, the utter falsehood of what is there insinuated.

"I have not the honour to know your Lordship, so I cannot tell what you may have heard to induce you to carry to our Sovereign a complaint of so atrocious a nature.

"Your Lordship, by your speech made to the King at delivering the petition, has adopted the contents of it; and I do not know of whom to enquire but of your Lordship concerning this injury done to an innocent man, who am by this means (if I am the person meant) hung out as an object of public hatred and resentment.

"You have too much honour and justice not to tell me whether I am the person meant, and if I am, the grounds upon which I am thus charged, that I may vindicate myself, which truth will enable me to do to the conviction of the bitterest enemy; and therefore I may boldly say, to your Lordship's entire satisfaction, whom I certainly have never offended,

"I am, with the greatest respect,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient

"And most humble servant,

"*Holland House, Kensington,*

"HOLLAND."

"*July 9th, 1769.*"

To this letter the Lord Mayor returned the following answer:—

"The Lord Mayor presents his compliments to Lord Holland, and in answer to the honour of his Lordship's letter delivered to him by Mr. Selwyn, he begs leave to say that he had no concern in drawing up the petition from the Livery of London to his Majesty; that he looks on himself only as the carrier, together with other gentlemen charged by the Livery with the delivery of it; that he does not, nor ever did, hold himself accountable for the contents of it, and is a stranger to the nature of the supposed charge against his Lordship.

"*Mansion House, July 10, 1769.*"

Mr.

Mr. Beckford, seeing his name implicated in this correspondence, wrote from the country the following letter to a friend, who was a Liveryman of the city :—

“ Dear Sir, *Fonthill, July 15, 1769.*

“ I am as much surprised as you seem to be, at seeing my name, and papers in my possession, appealed to by a noble Lord.—You and my friends in the city think it incumbent on me to vindicate (as they are pleased to express themselves) my honour and character, which is called in question. The only proper satisfaction in my power to give you and my other friends, is to relate plain matters of fact, to the best of my recollection.

“ In the last session of Parliament, on a question of revenue (as far as my memory serves) I did declare to the House that the public revenue had been squandered away, and that the money of the nation had not been regularly audited and accounted for.

“ That in the department of the pay-office I had been informed there were upwards of forty millions not properly accounted for; that the officers of the King’s Exchequer were bound in duty to see justice done to the public; that process had issued out of the Court of Exchequer, and that all proceedings for a certain time had been suspended by the King’s sign manual. I then did declare, that it was an high offence for any minister to advise the King to stop the course of public justice, without assigning a very good reason for such his advice.—I desired the chancellor of the exchequer, and the lords of the treasury, who sat opposite to me, to set me right if my information was not well-founded; but not a single word was uttered in answer by any of the gentlemen in administration.

“ After some days had elapsed, I met my friend Mr. Woodhouse in Westminster Hall, he told me I had been misinformed as to what I had mentioned in the House of Commons, and that if I would give him leave, he would send me a paper from a noble Lord, which would convince me of my mistake. The

paper alluded to is in London, I therefore cannot speak of the contents with accuracy and precision; but this I recollect, that the perusal of the paper did *not* convince me that all I had heard was false. It was a private paper, and I do not recollect having shewn it to more than a single person. I have no doubt Mr. Woodhouse has a copy of the paper by him, and I hope he will submit the contents to the judgment of the public, in vindication of an INNOCENT man.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Your ever faithful and affectionate humble servant,

“ W^{ILLIAM} BECKFORD.”

It was in consequence of this letter that Lord Holland was induced to publish the account above referred to by JUNIUS, and again by Mr. Beckford. Long as it is, it ought not to be omitted in this place.

FOR THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

Letter to H. S. Woodfall.

“ MR. WOODFALL, *Kingsgate, July 20, 1769.*

“ Lord Holland seeing in your paper a letter from Mr. Beckford to a Liveryman, of July 15, 1769, and Mr. Woodhouse being at Spa, in Germany, sends you an authentic copy of the paper which he sent by Mr. Woodhouse to Mr. Beckford. He hopes the perusal of it will convince the reader that all is false that can impute any crime to Lord Holland.

“ The reader will see that some of Lord Holland’s accounts were then before the auditor; and there are two years’ accounts since lodged there.

“ He will see that Lord Holland’s accounts (voluminous and difficult beyond example) have not been kept back from inclination, but necessity; and not longer than those of his predecessors.

“ He will see (and is desired to observe particularly) that savings, so far from remaining all in Lord Holland’s hands, had been given in and voted in aid of the public service, to the amount of £910,341. And £43,533. 19s. 7d. (upon some

regimental and other accounts being adjusted this last winter) have been since paid and voted.

“ He will read in it, that Lord Holland desired to be shewn how he could proceed faster than he did. If nobody has shewn or can show how that might have been, or may be done, does he deserve either punishment or censure? And had he not a right to think himself sure that Mr. Beckford must have been against the article in the petition relating to him, because *Mr. Beckford knew, and could have shewn the Lord Mayor in writing, the utter falsehood of what is there insinuated.*

“ Lord Holland prints the memorial examined by the Treasury, and the sign manual it obtained; stopping process (not accounts) for six months, which neither did nor could suspend or delay the pay-master’s accounts an hour.

HOLLAND.”

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ACCOUNTS OF THE PAY-MASTER GENERAL.

Why were Lord Holland’s accounts, as pay-master general, for the years 1757, 1758, and 1759, not delivered to the auditors before the year 1768?

ANSWER.

The pay-master general’s officers being best acquainted with army accounts, are employed in making up the account of the preceding pay-masters. The accounts of the earls of Chat-ham, Darlington, and Kinnoul, and Mr. Potter, were made up by them, and regularly, and in due course delivered to the auditors.

Great as the army and its expenses were during the last war, beyond all former example, dispersed in all quarters of the world, and difficult as it must have been to keep the accounts in any tolerable order, it will be found, upon examination, that the accounts of Lord Holland, as pay-master general, are not further back than those of his predecessors, and that his Lordship’s accounts are not kept back, as has been suggested, from inclination, but necessity.

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The late Mr. Winnington's accounts, for two years and a half, from December, 1743, to 24th of June, 1746, were declared the 15th of May, 1760. The earl of Chatham's accounts for nine years and a half, from the 25th June, 1746, to the 24th of December, 1755, are not yet declared.

The earls of Darlington and Kinnoul for the year 1756, and the earl of Kinnoul's and Mr. Potter's for six months, to the 24th of June, 1757, are now before the auditors.

The accounts of Lord Holland for the years 1757, 1758, and 1759; likewise the accounts of his deputies, attending the army in Germany, from the commencement to the end of the late war, are also before the auditors for their examination, and his Lordship's account for the year 1760, is almost ready to be delivered to them.

From the nature and extension of army accounts, it is most evident to those that are best acquainted with them, that it is tedious and difficult to bring even regimental accounts to a final adjustment; other parts of the accounts are more so. Lord Holland, in the course of the years 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, and 1764, has paid to regiments and independent companies £320,391 9s. 11d. whose accounts are at this time unadjusted, for want of proper authorities, and till those authorities are obtained, the auditor will not allow one shilling of said sum in his Lordship's accounts. To obtain those authorities, his Lordship has often repeated his solicitations.

What is the balance of cash in Lord Holland's hands?

ANSWER.

The meaning of this question can be no other than, what savings are in Lord Holland's hands? Or, in other words, how much has the expense in any case fallen short of the sum voted?

As to the savings:—so far as the pay-office has been enabled to state the army accounts, they have been given into parliament.

From services that have fallen short of the sums voted, and from monies paid in by army accountants, Lord Holland directed

rected accounts to be made up and laid before the House of Commons; and accordingly (out of these savings in Lord Holland's hands) parliament from time to time availed itself of the following sums, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
Voted in aid of extraordinaries, to December 24, 1763,	239,966	1	4
Voted in the year 1764, in aid of German claims,	170,906	2	8
Voted in the year 1765, in aid of ditto service,	251,740	2	7
Voted in the year 1766, in aid of extraordinary services,	60,638	2	10
Voted in the year 1767, in aid of extraordinaries and other services,	171,571	13	3
Voted in the year 1768, in aid of the supply,	15,719	15	7
	<hr/> £910,541 18 3 <hr/>		

His Lordship could by no other means ascertain and give into parliament the savings on the votes for the army, but by the final adjustment of army accounts; what further savings may be, is very uncertain, as they cannot be known before the services are absolutely determined and closed.

His Lordship is very sorry to say it, that in the years 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, and 1764, there are not less than fifty-six regiments and companies now standing open and unadjusted, for want of authorities; and in his ledgers there are accounts to a much greater extent, as the pay of staff officers, &c. &c.

It may be seen here that though Mr. Winnington died in April, 1746, and his executor, Mr. Ingram, used all possible industry to close his accounts, they could not be closed till 1760; fourteen years. The Earl of Chatham went out in December, 1755, yet are not his accounts closed till 1768; thirteen

ten years. The Earl of Kinnoul's are not closed yet, though he has been out of the office eleven years. Lord Holland has been out three years and a half. Where is the wonder his are not closed?

If those who complain will shew Lord Holland how he can proceed faster than he does, he will be very much obliged to them. Let it be observed, that he has before the auditors already, accounts for more years than Mr. Winnington or Lord Kinnoul had to account for.

MEMORIAL FOR LORD HOLLAND TO HAVE LONGER TIME TO
MAKE UP HIS ACCOUNTS AS PAY-MASTER GENERAL.

May it please your Lordships,

I beg to inform your Lordships that a process is in the hands of the sheriffs of Middlesex against me to account to his Majesty for the monies imprested to me, as pay-master general of his Majesty's forces.

I most humbly apprehend that the regular ordinary course of accounting in the Exchequer was calculated (when established) for transactions at home, which are easily and readily to be collected and made up at short periods of time.

The accounts of the army when employed abroad, particularly, must unavoidably be much in arrear from the nature of the service.

The army payments are necessarily in arrear; and articles from accidents inevitable are obliged to remain often open a long time before they can finally be closed.

The accounts of the last war are voluminous and difficult beyond example. The great variety of operations, and the very great distance of the troops, made, and must make, the correspondence, and adjusting those accounts with the paymasters and accountants attending them, very slow and tedious. These therefore will require longer time to make up, both from their bulk and difficulty.

During the course of a war, the troops constantly changing
and

and moving, and the service in the utmost hurry, it cannot then be done with the order and regularity absolutely necessary. Since the war the utmost diligence has been used in them. The great intricate article of Foreign expense, (viz. the German) has been got together for the whole time (which, after the former war, was several years about;) and one year and an half's general account is now made out, and ready to be laid before the auditors; the rest will regularly be laid before them as fast as it is possible to make them up. Though I have been two years out of employment, the payments for my time are not yet completed.

I therefore pray your Lordships will be pleased to obtain his Majesty's warrant, granting me longer time for making up my accounts as pay-master general of his Majesty's forces.

Pay Office, Horse Guards,

Which is, &c. &c.

25th June, 1767.

HOLLAND.

KING'S WARRANT, STAY OF PROCESS AGAINST LORD HOLLAND
FOR SIX MONTHS.

Copy.

George R.

Whereas our right, trusty, and well-beloved Henry Lord Holland hath, by the annexed memorial, represented, that from several unavoidable causes and difficulties he hath been prevented making up his accounts as late pay-master general of our forces; and we having taken the said matter into our royal consideration, are graciously pleased to grant unto him a farther time for making up his said accounts. Our will and pleasure therefore is, and we do hereby direct, authorize, and require you to cause all process against the said Henry Lord Holland for his accounts, as late pay-master general of our forces, to be stayed for and during the term of six months, computed from the day of the date hereof. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at our Court at Saint

Saint James's, the eighth day of July, 1767, in the seventh year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

GRAFTON.

C. TOWNSHEND.

T. TOWNSHEND.

To our right, trusty, and well-beloved Samuel Lord Mar-
sham, our Remembrancer in our Court of Exchequer.

B.

The history of this dispute is as follows. In the Public Advertiser of July 14, 1769, the following letter made its appearance, addressed

TO THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE ONSLOW, ESQ.

SIR,

I have heard from very good authority that one of the Lords of the Treasury has lately gained a thousand pounds in a very common and usual manner, which is yet likely to be attended with a very uncommon and unusual consequence. Mr. ——— applied to the Right Honourable Mr. ——— for his interest for a certain lucrative post in America. The gentleman was informed that a thousand pounds placed in the hands of Mrs. ——— would insure him the place. Mr. ——— not having the money, prevailed on Colonel ——— to join with him in a bond for that sum to the lady to whom he was directed. So far, Sir, all is in the common track: What follows is the wonderful part of the transaction. This Lord of the Treasury kept his word, and the gentleman was appointed to the office he had paid for! And stranger still, Lord ———, who discovered this bargain and sale, is offended at it, and insists on the dismissal of this Lord of the Treasury. Now, Sir, I must intreat you to favour one of your constituents with the

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the name of this Lord of the Treasury, for you, no doubt, who sit at that Board yourself, must be acquainted with him.
Ash-Court, July 11. ANOTHER FREEHOLDER OF SURREY.

To this letter Mr. Onslow made the following reply, which was published in the same newspaper, July 18, ensuing.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

July 16.

Having just now read a letter containing, by evident insinuation, a most audacious attack upon my character, printed by you, in your paper of Friday last, asserting a gross and infamous lie from beginning to end; I do hereby publicly call upon you to name the person from whom you received the account you have presumed to publish. If you are either unable or unwilling to do this, I shall most certainly treat you as the author, and in justice both to myself and others who are every day thus malignantly and wickedly vilified, shall take the best advice in the law if an action will not lie for such atrocious defamation, and if I may not hope to make an example of the author of it.

The scurrility in general which has been of late so heaped upon me in the public papers, I have hitherto treated with the contempt my friends and myself thought it deserved, and suffered it to pass with impunity; but this last is so outrageous, and tends so much to wound my character and honour in the tenderest part, that I am determined, if practicable, to see if a jury will not do me and the public justice against such a libeller, and whether they will not think the robbing an innocent man of his character is a robbery of the most dangerous kind, and that the perpetrators of it will stick at nothing.

For the present I must content myself with only laying before the public the two following letters, which will explain to them all the knowledge I had of the detestable fraud, which has been taken advantage of to charge me with corruption; a crime, which of all others, I hold the most in abhorrence. I

defy

defy the whole world to prove a single word in your libellous letter to be true, or that the whole is not a bare-faced, positive, and entire lie. That it is so I do assert, and I call upon any body, if they can, to disprove what I say.

GEORGE ONSLOW.

Copy of a Letter to Mr. Onslow, received the 27th of June.

SIR,

New Bond Street, June 25, 1769.

I beg you will pardon my thus addressing you, a liberty I could not think of, was any thing less than my family's bread at stake. Some weeks past my husband paid a large sum of money (which gave us inexpressible sorrow to raise) to a party, who protest they are empowered by you to insure him in return, the Collectorship of Piscataway in New Hampshire. I have been told this day one Hughes is in possession of the same, and the Treasury Books confirm the news. I beg leave most earnestly to intreat you will inform me whether Mr. Hughes is under any engagement to resign, or whether we are duped by those who have taken our money.

Mr. Burns has had the strongest recommendations from persons of undoubted veracity, and I believe, on all accounts, will be found to be perfectly capable and worthy of the employment.

Once more I intreat, good Sir, you will excuse this trouble, which is caused by a heart almost broken with the fear and terror of a disappointment. With the profoundest respect,

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

humble Servant,

MARY BURNS.

Mr. Onslow's Answer.

MADAM,

Ember Court, June 27, 1769.

Your Letter was brought down to me hither only to-day, or I should have answered it sooner. Without having the honour of being known to you or Mr. Burns, it gives me much concern that any body should be so imposed upon as
you

you have been, and as much indignation that my name should be made so infamous a use of. I should have been under an equal degree of surprise, had I not this morning had some intimation of the matter from Mr. Pownal and Mr. Bradshaw, and made some enquiry into it of Mr. Watkins at Charing Cross, with a determination to sift this shocking scene of villainy to the bottom, and which I shall now be encouraged in by the hopes of getting you your money restored to you, as well as the earnest desire I have to bring the perpetrators of this roguery to the punishment and shame they deserve.

For this purpose, might I beg the favour of Mr. Burns to meet me at my house in Curzon Street, about ten o'clock on Friday morning.—I will go with him to Mr. Pownal's, of which I have given him notice; and I wish Mr. Burns would bring with him Mr. Watkins, or any body else that can give light into this unhappy and wicked affair.

Till this morning I never in my life heard a single word of either the office itself, nor of any of the parties concerned. You will judge then of my astonishment, and indeed horror, at hearing of it to-day from Mr. Bradshaw.

I am, Madam, &c.

GEORGE ONSLOW.

Since writing of the above letters, more of this fraud has been detected, and further enquiry is making, in order to bring the actors in it to justice. A woman of the name of Smith, who lives near Broad Street, is the person who appears to be principally concerned in the fraud, the money being, it seems, for her use.

The writer of the first address, now authorizing the printer to give Mr. Onslow his name, (which he did, and which was that of the Rev. John Horne,) once more attacked the Right Honourable Gentleman as follows, in the same paper, July 28.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE ONSLOW.

GOOD SIR,

If with another INNOCENT man, Lord Holland, you were ambitious to add to the list of Mr. Walpole's Right Honourable authors, you might, like him, have exposed yourself with more temper, and have called names in better English.

I should be sorry to libel you by mistaking your meaning, but the strange manner of wording your first sentence leaves me at a loss to know whether you intend that my letter, or — your own character is “*a gross and infamous lie from beginning to end.*”

You may save yourself the expense of taking “*the best advice in the law.*” Depend upon it you can never “*hope to make an example of the author, when the publisher is unable or unwilling to give up his name.*” And you need not wait for a jury to determine, “*that robbing a man is certainly a robbery.*” But you should have considered some months since that it is the same thing whether the man be guilty or innocent; and whether he be robbed of his reputation or — of his seat in parliament.

In the Public Advertiser of Friday, July 14, there is a letter FROM you as well as TO you. If that is the *scurrility* you speak of, I agree with you that it has been treated *with the contempt it deserves* by all the world; but how you can say that it has passed with *impunity*, I own I cannot conceive, unless indeed you are of opinion with those hardened criminals who think that, because there is no corporal sufferance in it, the being gibbeted in chains and exposed as a spectacle makes no part of their punishment.

The letter written by you to Mr. Wilkes tends more “*to wound your character and honour,*” than any other, and yet you pass it over in silence. But you shall, if you please, prove to the world that those who have neither character nor honour,

may

may still be wounded in a very tender part—their interest. And I believe Lord Hillsborough is too noble to suffer any Lord of the Treasury to prostitute his name and commission to bargains like that I have exposed; but will, if he continues to preside at the Board of Trade, resolutely insist either on such Lord's full justification or dismissal.—*Hinc illa Lachryma.*

You “*defy the whole world to prove a single word in my letter to be true; or that the whole is not a barefaced, positive, and entire lie.*” The language of the last part of the sentence is such as I can make no use of, and therefore I return it back on you to whom it belongs: The defiance in the first part, I accept, and will disprove what you say.

My letter can only be false in one particular; for it contains only one affirmation, namely, that I heard the story I relate from very good authority. It then concludes with a question to you of—who is this Lord of the Treasury that so abhors corruption? Which question since you have answered, I too will gratify you, and in return for yours do hereby direct the printer to give you my name; which, humble as it is, I should not consent to exchange with you in any other manner.

Now, Sir, I do again affirm that I heard the story from the best authority: And that it is not my invention your own letter is a proof, for I might have heard it either from Mrs. Burns, or from Mr. Pownal, or Mr. Bradshaw, but I heard it from better authority. I go farther. I do still believe the story as I related it to be true; nor has any thing you have said convinced me to the contrary. I do not mean to charge you or any one; but since you have condescended to answer my former question, be kind enough to explain what follows.

Mr. Pownal is secretary to the Board of Trade. Mr. Bradshaw is secretary to the Treasury. Why did these two secretaries come together to you? Were they sent by their Principals or not? Who first detected this very scandalous though very common traffic? Has not Lord Hillsborough that honour? And is not your exaggerated “*abhorrence of corrup-*

tion, your astonishment, and indeed HORROR at this shocking scene of villany" vastly heightened by the calm, and therefore unsuspected disapprobation of his Lordship; who does not seem to think with you that every whore should be hanged alive; but only that they should be TURNED OUT of honest company.

How came you so instantly to entertain hopes of getting the money restored to Mrs. Burns? when you declared, that "*till that morning you never in your life heard a single word of either the office itself, nor of any of the parties concerned.*" Jonathan Wild used to return such answers; because he knew the theft was committed by some of his own gang.

You pretend to have given to the Public "*all the knowledge you have of this detestable fraud.*" I cannot believe it, because I find nothing in your letter on which to found your hopes of restoring the money to Mrs. Burns; and especially because in three weeks after this Letter, i. e. from June 27 to July 18, you have only discovered "*that Mrs. Smith appears to be principally concerned in this detestable fraud, the money being, it seems, for her use.*" Sir, do you not know whose wife Mrs. Smith is? And are you not acquainted with that gentleman? Have you caused Mrs. Smith or any one else to be taken into custody? Have you taken "*the best advice in law, and are you determined to see if a jury will not do you and the public justice*" for this detestable fraud? Or is there yet left one crime which you abhor more than corruption, and for which you reserve all your indignation? But why this anger? he that is innocent can easily prove himself to be so; and should be thankful to those who give him the opportunity by making a story public. Malicious and false slander never acts in this open manner; but seeks the covert, and cautiously conceals itself from the party maligned, in order to prevent a justification. If any person have done your character an injury by a charge of corruption, *they* are most guilty who so thoroughly believed you capable of that crime, as to pay a large sum of money

money on the supposition: (an indignity which I protest I would not have offered to you, though you had negotiated the matter and given the promise yourself,) and yet I do not find you at all angry with them when they tell you their opinion of you without scruple. On the contrary, you pity Mrs. Burns in the kindest manner, which shews plainly that your honour is not like Cæsar's wife. Nay, you seem almost to doubt whether you "*might beg the favour of Mr. Burns to meet you at your house in Curzon Street;*" that is, you humbly solicit Mr. Burns to do you the *favour* of accepting your assistance in the recovery of his money. Archbishop Laud thought to clear himself to posterity from all aspersions relative to popery, by inserting in his diary his refusal of a Cardinal's hat; not perceiving the disgrace indelibly fixed on him by the offer. "*Mr. Burns has had the strongest recommendations from persons of undoubted veracity, and I believe on all accounts will be found to be perfectly capable and worthy the employment.*" The letter from Mrs. Burns to you does by no means declare her to be an idiot. Colonel ——— (whom you forbear to mention) is a man of sense, and well acquainted with the world. It is strange they should all three believe you capable of this crime, which "*of all others you most hold in abhorrence.*" Mr. Pownal, Mr. Bradshaw, and their principals, are supposed to know something of men and things, and therefore I conclude they did *not* believe you concerned in this business: though I wonder much that, *not* believing it, both the secretaries should wait on you so seriously about it; but perhaps they may think, that when honour and justice are not the rules of men's actions, there is nothing incredible that may be for their advantage. But, Sir, whatever may be their sentiments of you, I must intreat you to entertain no resentment to me, my opinion of your character would never suffer me to doubt your innocence. If indeed the charge of corruption had been brought against a low and ignorant debauchee, who,

without the gratifications and enjoyments of a gentleman, had wasted a noble patrimony amongst the lowest prostitutes; whose necessities had driven him to hawk about a reversion on the moderate terms of one thousand for two hundred; whose desperate situation had made him renounce his principles and desert his friends, those principles and those friends to which he stood indebted for his chief support; who for a paltry consideration had stabbed a DEAR OLD FRIEND, and violated the sacred rights of that grateful country that continued to the son the reward of his father's services: if the charge had been brought against such an one, more fit to receive the public charity than to be trusted with the DISPOSAL and MANAGEMENT of the public money, small proof would have been sufficient; and instead of considering it as a crime the most to be abhorred, we might have suffered corruption to pass amongst the virtues of such a man. But yours, Sir, is a very different character, and situation. In the clear and unincumbered possession of the paternal estate with which your ancestors have long been respectable; with a pension of three thousand, and a place of one thousand a year; with the certain prospect of Lord Onslow's large fortune, which your prudence will not anticipate; grateful to your country, faithful to your connexions, and firm to your principles, it ought to be as difficult to convict you of corruption, as a cardinal of fornication; for which last purpose by the canon law, no less than seventy-two eye-witnesses are necessary. Thus, Sir, you see how far I am from casting any reflection on your integrity: however if notwithstanding all I have said you are still resolved to try the determination of a jury, take one piece of advice from me: do not think of prosecuting me for an INSINUATION: alter your charge before it comes upon record, to prevent its being done afterwards; for though Lord Mansfield did not know the difference between the words when he substituted the one for the other, we all know very well now that it is the TENOR and not the
the

the PURPORT that must convict for a libel, which indeed almost every student in the law knew before.

ANOTHER FREEHOLDER OF SURRY.

The names of Lord Hillsborough and Mr. Pownal having been introduced into the preceding letter, they thought proper to deny any other knowledge of Mr. Onslow's supposed turpitude, than that proceeding from common report, and accordingly inserted the following letters in the Public Advertiser on the day after their respective dates. Long as this note is, we cannot, in justice to Mr. Onslow, here omit them.

TO H. S. WOODFALL,

Printer of the Public Advertiser.

HAVING observed in a newspaper of the 28th of July last, that it is insinuated that I have been the detector of a supposed crime, imputed to the Right Honourable George Onslow, Esq. I do think it an act of common justice to declare, in this public manner, that I am entirely ignorant of the said supposed crime, and of all circumstances relative to it, except that I have heard the story mentioned in common conversation, and constantly treated as a calumny propagated to injure Mr. Onslow's reputation.

*Hanover Square,
August 2, 1769.*

HILLSBOROUGH.

It having been suggested in a letter addressed to the Right Honourable George Onslow, Esq. published in a newspaper dated the 28th of July last, that I was, together with Mr. Bradshaw, sent to Mr. Onslow, on the subject of a scandalous transaction, in which Mr. Onslow is, in the said letter, stated to be concerned; it is become necessary for me, in justice to that gentleman, to declare, that I never was sent to Mr. Onslow, on that or any other occasion; but having heard this story, I thought it but common justice to communicate it to Mr. Onslow, which I did through the channel of Mr. Bradshaw.

J. POWNAL.

Whitehall, August 2, 1769.

An action for defamation against Mr. Horne, was brought by Mr. Onslow, agreeably to his menace, and the damages were laid at £10,000. It was tried before Mr. Justice Blackstone, at the Surry Assizes held at Kingston, April 6, 1770, and terminated in Mr. Onslow's nonsuit, in consequence of the word pounds being inserted in the record, instead of the word pound. The cause was re-heard before Lord Chief Justice Mansfield at the ensuing Summer Assizes, held at Guildford, when Mr. Onslow was again nonsuited. The trial is supposed to have cost Mr. Onslow upwards of £1500 in consequence of his having retained all the principal counsel upon the occasion.

Nº 6.

SIR,

Sunday, Aug. 6, 1769.

THE spirit of your letter¹ convinces me that you are a much better writer than most of the people whose works you publish. Whether you have guessed well or ill must be left to our future acquaintance. For the matter of assistance, be assured, that if a question should arise upon any writings of mine, you shall not want it. Yet you see how things go, and I fear my assistance would not avail you much. For the other points of printing, &c. it does not depend on us at present. My own works you shall constantly have, and in point of money, be-assured you never shall suffer. I wish the in-

¹ The substance of Mr. Woodfall's reply to Private Letter, No. 3, is not known.

closed¹ to be announced to-morrow *conspicuously* for Tuesday. I am not capable of writing anything more finished.

Your friend,

C.

Your Veridicus² is Mr. Whitworth. I assure you I have not confided in him.

N^o 7.

SIR,

Wednesday night. Aug. 16, 1769.

I HAVE been some days in the country, and could not conveniently send for your letter until this night. Your correction was perfectly right, the sense required it, and I am much obliged to you. When I spoke of *innumerable* blunders, I meant Newberry's pamphlet; for I must confess that upon the whole your papers are very correctly printed.

Do with my letters exactly what you please. I should think that, to make a better figure than Newberry, some others of my letters may be added, and so throw out a hint, that you have reason to suspect they are by the same author.

¹ JUNIUS, Letter xx.

² Veridicus was a frequent writer in the Public Advertiser, in the year 1769, and, as already observed in the Preliminary Essay, was Richard Whitworth, Esq. M. P. for Stafford.

If you adopt this plan, I shall point out those which I would recommend; for you know, I do not, nor indeed have I time to give equal care to them all.

I know Mr. Onslow perfectly. He is a false silly fellow. Depend upon it he will get nothing but shame by contending with Horne'.

I believe I need not assure you, that I have never written in any other paper since I began with yours. As to JUNIUS, I must wait for fresh matter, as this is a character which must be kept up with credit. Avoid prosecutions if you can; but, above all things, avoid the Houses of Parliament,—there is no contending with them. At present you are safe, for this House of Commons has lost all dignity, and dare not do any thing.

Adieu,

C.

N^o 8.

(Private)

SIR,

Sept. 10, 1769.

THE last letter you printed was idle and improper, and I assure you printed against

* This contest is already related in the note to Private Letters, No. 5.

my own opinion¹. The truth is, there are people about me, whom I would wish not to contradict, and who had rather see JUNIUS in the papers ever so improperly than not at all. I wish it could be recalled. Suppose you were to say—*We have some reason to suspect that the last letter signed Junius in this paper, was not written by the real Junius, though the observation escaped us at the time* : or, if you can hit off any thing yourself more plausible, you will much oblige me, but without a positive assertion. Don't let it be the same day with the enclosed. Begging your pardon for this trouble, I remain your friend and humble servant,

C.

 N^o 9.

(Private)

SIR,

Friday night, Sept. 15, 1769.

I BEG you will to-morrow advertise *Junius to another Duke in our next*². If Monday's paper be engaged, then let it be for Tues-

¹ It occurs in the Miscellaneous Letters, No. LIX. In the genuine edition it was omitted for the reason which the author has here specified.

² This note accompanied the letter to his Grace the Duke of Bedford, JUNIUS, No. XXIII. and was announced agreeably to the above request in the Public Advertiser for September 18, 1769.

day, but not advertised till Monday. You shall have it some time to-morrow night. It cannot be corrected and copied sooner. I mean to make it worth printing.

Yours,
C.

N^o 10.

Thursday night, Oct. 5, 1769.

I SHALL be glad to see the packet you speak of¹. It cannot come from the Cavendishes, though there be no end of the family. They would not be so silly as to put their arms on the cover. As to me, be assured that it is not in the nature of things, that they, or you, or any body else should ever know me, unless I make myself known. All arts or enquiries, or rewards would be equally ineffectual.

As to *you*, it is clearly my opinion, that you have nothing to fear from the Duke of Bedford. I reserve some things expressly to awe him, in case he should think of bringing you before the House of Lords.—I am sure I can threaten him privately with such a storm, as would make him tremble even in his grave. You may send to-morrow to the same place without farther notice; and if you have any thing of your own to communicate, I shall be glad to hear it.

C.

¹ The nature of this communication is not known.

N^o 11.

SIR,

Nov. 8, 1769.

I HAVE been out of town for three weeks, and, though I got your last, could not conveniently answer it. Be so good as to signify to A. B. C., either by word of mouth, or in your own hand, "that his papers are received, and that I should have been ready to do him the service he desires; but at present it would be quite useless to the parties, and might offend some persons who must not be offended." As to Mr. Mortimer¹, only make him some civil excuse.

I should be much obliged to you, if you would reprint (and in the front page, if not improper or inconvenient) a letter in the London Evening Post of last night, to the Duke of Grafton². If it had not been anticipated, I should have touched upon the subject myself. However, it is not ill done, and it is very material that it should spread. The person alluded to is Lord Denbigh. I should think you might venture him with a *D*. As it stands few people

¹ Mr. Mortimer was either at this time, or shortly afterwards, employed by Mr. Woodfall to procure intelligence for the Public Advertiser.

² See Miscellaneous Letters, No. LXI.

can guess who is meant. The only thing that hinders my pushing the subject of my last letter, is really the fear of ruining that poor devil Gansel, and those other blockheads.—But as soon as a good subject offers.—Your types really wanted mending.

C.

N^o 12.

SIR,

Nov. 12, 1769.

I RETURN you the letters you sent me yesterday. A man who can neither write common English, nor spell, is hardly worth attending to. It is probably a trap for me. I should be glad, however, to know what the fool means. If he writes again, open his letter, and if it contains any thing worth my knowing, send it: otherwise not. Instead of C. in the usual place, say only *A Letter* when you have occasion to write to me again.—I shall understand you.

N^o 13.

Thursday, Nov. 16, 1769.

As I do not chuse to answer for any body's sins but my own, I must desire you to

say to-morrow, "We can assure the Public that the letter, signed A. B. relative to the Duke of Rutland, is not written by the author of JUNIUS¹."

I sometimes change my signature, but could have no reason to change the paper, especially for one that does not circulate half so much as yours.

C.

For the future, open all letters to me, and don't send them, unless of importance.—I can give you light about Veridicus².

N^o 14.

Sunday, Dec. 10, 1769.

I WOULD wish the paper (No. 2.) might be advertised for Tuesday³.

By way of intelligence you may inform the Public that Mr. De la Fontaine, *for his secret*

¹ See Miscellaneous Letters, No. LXI. and note * appended to it.

² See note to Private Letters, No. 6.

³ The paper here referred to is the Letter of JUNIUS, No. xxxiv. The ensuing intelligence was published verbally in the Public Advertiser of the next day, Dec. 11.

services in the Alley. is appointed Barrack-master to the Savoy.

I hope A. B. C. has got his papers again.



N^o 15.

SIR,

December 12, 1769.

You may tell Mr. A. B. C. that I did not receive his letter till last night, and have not had time to look into the paper annexed. I cannot at present understand what use I can make of it. It certainly shall not be an ungenerous one to him. If he or his counsel *know how to act*, I have saved him already, and really without intending it.—The facts are all literally true. Mr. Hine's place is Customer at the port of Exeter. Colonel Burgoyne received 4000*l.* for it. To mend the matter, the money was raised by contribution, and the subscribers quartered upon Mr. Hine. Among the rest, one Doctor Brook, a physician at Exeter, has 100*l.* a year out of the salary. I think you might give these particulars in your own way to the public'. As to

' The facts were given to the public by JUNIUS himself, in Letter xxxiv. Vol. II. p. 54. and are indeed touched upon more than once in his subsequent letters.

yourself, I am convinced the ministry will not venture to attack you, they dare not submit to such an enquiry. If they do, shew no fear, but tell them plainly you will justify, and subpoena Mr. Hine, Burgoyne, and Bradshaw of the Treasury—that will silence them at once.—As to the House of Commons there may be more danger. But even there I am fully satisfied the ministry will exert themselves to quash such an inquiry, and on the other side, you will have friends:—but they have been so grossly abused on all sides, that they will hardly begin with *you*.

Tell A. B. C. his paper shall be returned. I am now meditating a capital, and I hope a final piece;—you shall hear of it shortly¹.

N^o 16.

Dec. 19, 1769.

FOR *material* affection, for God's sake read *maternal*; it is in the sixth paragraph². The rest is excellently done.

¹ He refers to the Letter to the King, JUNIUS, No. xxxv.

² Letter to the King, JUNIUS, No. xxxv.

N° 17.

SIR,

Dec. 26, 1769.

WITH the inclosed alterations I should think our paper might appear¹. As to embowelling, do whatever you think proper, provided you leave it intelligible to vulgar capacities; but would not it be the shortest way at once to print it, in an anonymous pamphlet? judge for yourself. I enter sincerely into the anxiety of your situation, at the same time I am strongly inclined to think that you will not be called upon². They cannot do it without subjecting Hine's affair to an inquiry, which would be worse than death to the minister. As it is, they are more seriously stabbed with this last stroke than all the rest.—At any rate, stand

¹ This paper is supposed to have been totally suppressed, the alterations introduced into it, not having perhaps satisfied the Printer of his safety in publishing it, as the signal of a private communication from him to the author appeared in the P. A. of the next day.

² The Printer was threatened by the Minister with a prosecution for publishing the letter of JUNIUS, No. xxxiii. and the court of King's Bench was actually moved on his behalf; but probably for the reason mentioned above, the threat was never executed.

firm—(I mean with all the humble appearances of contrition)—if you trim or falter, you will lose friends without gaining others. A. B. C. has done right in publishing his letter, it defends him more effectually than all his nonsense.—I believe I shall give him a lift, for I really think he has been punished infinitely beyond his merits.—I doubt much whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you; but if things take the turn I expect, you shall know *me by my works*.

C.

N^o 18.

(Private)

SIR,

Jun. 12, 1770.

I DESIRED A. B. C. not to write to me until I gave him notice, he must therefore blame himself, if the detention of his papers has been inconvenient to him. Pray tell him this, and that he shall have them in a day or two. I shall also keep my promise to him¹, but to do it immediately would be useless to *him*, and unadvisable with respect to myself. I believe

¹ See JUNIUS, No. XXXIII. and XXXVI. for an explanation of the fact and papers here referred to.

you may banish your fears. The information¹ will only be for a misdemeanour, and I am advised that no jury, especially in these times, will find it. I suspect the channel, through which you have your intelligence. It will be carried on coldly. You must not write to me again, but be assured I will never desert you. I received your letters regularly, but it was *impossible* to answer them sooner. You shall hear from me again shortly.

N^o 19.

(Private)

SIR,

Beginning of Feb. 1770.

WHEN you consider to what excessive enmities I may be exposed, you will not wonder at my caution. I really have not known how to procure your last. If it be not of any great moment I would wish you to recall it. If it be give me a hint. If your affair should come to a trial², and you should be found guilty, you will then let me know what expense falls particularly

¹ The information was for publishing the Letter to the King, JUNIUS, No. xxxv. for the particulars of which see the author's Preface, post p. 14.

² The trial referred to is stated more fully in another part of this publication, and alludes to an information filed by the Attorney-General, in consequence of the printer's having published

on yourself; for I understand you are engaged with other proprietors. Some way or other you shall be reimbursed. But seriously and *bonâ fide*, I think it is impossible.

C.

N^o 20.

About Feb. 14, 1770.

I HAVE carefully perused the information¹. It is so loose and ill-drawn, that I am persuaded Mr. De Grey could not have had a hand in it. Their inserting the whole, proves they had no strong passages to fix on. I still think it will not be tried. If it should, it is not possible for a jury to find you guilty.

N^o 21.

Saturday, March 17, 1770

TO-MORROW before twelve you shall have a JUNIUS, it will be absolutely necessary that it ~~should be~~ published on Monday.

lished the letter of JUNIUS to the King, No. xxxv. The copy of the information was procured in Hilary term, 1770, and the trial took place at Guildhall, June 13th following. The costs to the printer in defending himself, though ultimately successful, amounted to about 120*l.* a somewhat heavy fine for a person not found guilty.

¹ The information here referred to, is that noticed in the note to the preceding letter.

Would it be possible to give notice of it to-night or to-morrow, by a dispersing a few hand-bills? Pray do whatever you think will answer this purpose best, for now is the crisis ¹.

C.

N^o 22.

Sunday, March 18, 1770.

THIS letter is written wide, and I suppose will not fill two columns. For God's sake let it appear to-morrow. I hope you received my note of yesterday.

Lord Chatham is determined to go to the Hall to support the Westminster remonstrance ². I have no doubt that we shall conquer them at last.

C.

¹ The letter referred to, is printed JUNIUS, No. xxxvii.

² Agreed upon at a general meeting of the electors of the city and liberty of Westminster, assembled in Westminster Hall, March 28, 1770, in consequence of their petition to his Majesty, requesting him to dissolve the Parliament which had expelled Mr. Wilkes, having been rejected. The following is a copy of the remonstrance:—

“The humble address, remonstrance, and petition of the electors of the city and liberty of Westminster, assembled in Westminster Hall the 28th day of March, 1770.

“We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the electors of the city and liberty of Westminster, having already presented our humble, but ineffectual, application to the throne,
find

find ourselves, by the misconduct of your Majesty's ministers, in confederacy with many of our representatives, reduced to the necessity of again breaking in by our complaints upon your Majesty's repose, or of acquiescing under grievances so NEW and so EXORBITANT, that none but those who patiently submit to them, can deserve to suffer them.

"By the same *secret* and *unhappy* influence to which all our grievances have been originally owing, the redress of those grievances has been now prevented; and the grievances themselves have been repeatedly confirmed; with this additional circumstance of aggravation, that while the invaders of our rights remain the directors of your Majesty's councils, the defenders of those rights have been dismissed from your Majesty's service—your Majesty having been advised by your ministers to remove from his employment for his vote in Parliament, the highest officer of the law; because his principles suited ill with theirs, and his pure distribution of justice with their corrupt administration of it in the House of Commons.

"We beg leave, therefore, again to represent to your Majesty, that the House of Commons have struck at the most valuable liberties and franchises of all the electors of Great Britain; and by assuming to themselves a right of choosing, instead of receiving a member when chosen, by transferring to the representative what belonged to the constituent, they have taken off from the dignity, and, we fear, impaired the authority of Parliament itself.

"We presume again therefore humbly to implore from your Majesty, the only remedies which are any way proportioned to the nature of the evil: that you would be graciously pleased to dismiss for ever from your councils, those ministers who are ill-suited by their dispositions to preserve the principles of a free, or by their capacities to direct the councils of a great and mighty kingdom; and that by speedily dissolving the present Parliament, your Majesty will shew, by your own example, and by their dissolution, that the rights of your people are to be inviolable, and that you will never necessitate

so many injured, and by such treatment exasperated subjects to continue to commit the care of their interests to those from whom they must withdraw their confidence ; to repose their invaluable privileges in the hands of those who have sacrificed them ; and their trust in those who have betrayed it.

“ Your subjects look up with satisfaction to the powers which the constitution has vested in your Majesty—for it is upon them that they have placed their last dependance, and they trust, that the right of dissolving parliaments, which has, under former princes, so often answered the purposes of power, may under your Majesty prove an happy instrument of liberty.

“ We find ourselves compelled to urge with the greater importunity, this our humble but earnest application to the throne, as every day seems to produce the confirmation of some old, or to threaten the introduction of some new injury. —We have the strongest reason to apprehend that the usurpation begun by the House of Commons upon the right of electing, may be extended to the right of petitioning ; and that under the pretence of restraining the abuse of this right, it is meant to bring into disrepute, and to intimidate us from the exercise of the right itself.

“ But whatever may be the purposes of others, your Majesty hath in your answer to the city of London, most graciously declared, *that you are always ready to receive the requests, and to listen to the complaints of your subjects.* Your Majesty condescends likewise to esteem it *a duty to secure to them the free enjoyment of those rights which your family were called to defend.*

“ We rely, therefore, upon the Royal word thus given, that our grievances will meet with full redress, and our complaints with the most favourable interpretation—that your Majesty will never consider the arraignment of your ministers as a disrespect to your person, a charge confined, by the very terms of it, to this House of Commons, as injurious to Parliament at large (the constitution of which we admire, and the abuse of which

N^o 23.

(Private)

Friday Morn. Oct. 19, 1770.

By your affected silence¹, you encourage an idle opinion that I am the author of the *Whig*², &c. though you very well know the contrary. I neither admire the writer nor his idol. I hope you will soon set this matter right.

C.

which is the very thing we lament); or a request for the dissolution of Parliament, which your subjects have a right to make, and your Majesty to grant, as *irreconcucable to the principles of the constitution*."

¹ "The Printer really did not affect a silence on a certain occasion, with a view of encouraging his readers or correspondents in an idle opinion: the motives for his conduct were, the fear of being thought impertinent by declaring (without direction) what he knew; and the probability of rendering himself liable to incur the displeasure of either of those who were pleased to favour him with their correspondence."—Answer to Correspondents, Oct. 25, 1770..

² This letter was printed in the Public Advertiser under the signature of a Whig and an Englishman, Oct. 11, 1770, and refers chiefly to the American Stamp Act, and the opinion of Lord Chatham, whom the author panegyriized in very warm terms. The same writer had already published several other letters in the same name: and the Printer, in compliance with the request of JUNIUS, gave the following notice:—

"October 20.

"The Printer thinks it his duty to declare, that the Letters which have appeared in this paper under the signature of a *Whig and an Englishman*, were not written by the author of those signed JUNIUS."

N° 24.

SIR,

Monday Evening, Nov. 12, 1770.

THE enclosed¹ though begun within these few days, has been greatly laboured. It is very correctly copied, and I beg you will take care that it be literally printed as it stands. I don't think you run the least risque. We have got the rascal down, let us strangle him if it be possible. This paper should properly have appeared to-morrow, but I could not compass it, so let it be announced to-morrow, and printed Wednesday. If you should have any fears, I entreat you send it early enough to Miller, to appear to-morrow night in the London Evening Post. In that case, you will oblige me by informing the Public to-morrow, in *your own paper*, that a real JUNIUS will appear at night in the London.—Miller, I am sure, will have no scruples.

Lord Mansfield has thrown ministry into confusion, by suddenly resigning the office of Speaker of the House of Lords.

¹ Letter XL. JUNIUS to the Right Hon. Lord Mansfield.

N^o 25.

Wednesday Night, Nov. 21, 1770¹.

I SHALL be very glad to hear from your friend at Guildhall.—You may, if you think proper, give my compliments to him, and tell him, if it be possible, I will make use of any materials he will give me. I will never rest till I have destroyed or expelled that wretch.—I wish you joy of yesterday.—The fellow truckles already².

C.

N^o 26.

Friday, 1 o'clock, Dec. 7, 1770.

I WISH it were possible for you to print the enclosed to-morrow³, observe the *Italics strictly* where they are marked. Why don't I

¹ On the outside of this note was written, "the enclosed strikes deeper than you may imagine. C." The Letter here referred to, is printed in the Miscellaneous Collection, No. LXXVIII. and is subscribed *Testiculus*.

² In allusion to the unanimous judgment of the Court of King's Bench, on the verdict for printing the Letter to the King, given Nov. 20th, 1770; by which Lord Mansfield lost his object, and the Printer was granted a new Trial.

³ The paper here referred to, is Miscellaneous Letter, No. LXXIX. signed *Domitian*, and was printed as requested.

hear from Guildhall.—If he trifles with me, he shall hear of it'.

C.

N^o 27.

SIR,

January 2, 1771.

I HAVE received your mysterious epistle, I dare say a letter may safely be left at the same place; but you may change the direction to Mr. John Fretley. You need not advertise it.

Yours,

C.

N^o 28.

Jun. 16, 1771.

You may assure the Public that a squadron of four ships of the line is ordered to be got ready with *all possible expedition* for the East Indies. It is to be commanded by Commodore Spry. Without regarding the language of ignorant or interested people, depend upon the assurance I give you, that every man in administration looks upon war as inevitable¹.

¹ The allusion is to a communication between the writer and Mr. Wilkes, which had been promised by the latter, but had not been at this time received.

² Inserted in the Public Advertiser, January 17, nearly in the same words. The predicted war, however, did not fol-

N^o 29.*Thursday, Jan. 31, 1771.*

THE paper is extremely well printed, and has a great effect¹ ; it is of the utmost importance to the public cause that the doors of the House of Lords should be opened on Tuesday next, perhaps the following may help to shame them into it.

We hear that the ministry intend to move for opening the doors of both Houses of Parliament on Tuesday next, in the usual manner, being desirous that the nation should be exactly informed of their whole conduct in the business of Falkland Island.

low, but the preparation was actually made in the full belief, on the part of the cabinet themselves, that they would be compelled to go to war, by the existing temper of the people, irritated by the dishonourable negotiation concerning the Spanish seizure of Falkland Islands, and that they should be accused of indolence, and even cowardice, by the approaching Parliament. The session opened only four days afterwards, and the question of hostilities was so much upon a balance, that in the lower House not fewer than 159 members divided against the Minister, upon the address of thanks and approbation.

¹ It refers to JUNIUS, No. XLII. For the nature of the subject alluded to, see the Letter, and the Notes subjoined to it ; as also Miscellaneous Letters, No. LXXXVIII. and the note in explanation.

(Next Day.)

The nation expect, that on Tuesday next at least, both Houses will be open as usual, otherwise there will be too much reason to suspect, that the proceedings of the ministry have been such as will not bear a public discussion.

We hear that the ministry intend to move, that no gentleman may be refused admittance into either House on Tuesday next. Lord North in particular thinks it touches his character, to have no part of his conduct concealed from the nation.

The resolution of the ministry to move for opening both Houses on Tuesday next does them great honour. If they were to do otherwise, it would raise and justify suspicions very disadvantageous to their own reputation, and to the King's honour.

Pray keep it up.

C.

N^o 30.

SIR,

Tuesday Noon, Feb. 5, 1771.

I DID not receive your letter until this day. I shall be very glad to hear what you have to communicate.

C.

You need not advertise any notice.

N^o 31.

(Private)

Monday, Feb. 11, 1771.

OUR correspondence is attended with difficulties, yet I should be glad to see the paper you mention ; let it be left to-morrow *without farther notice*. I am seriously of opinion that it will all end in smoke¹.

C.

N^o 32.*Monday, Feb. 18, 1771.*

If you are not grown too ministerial in your politics, I shall hope to see the enclosed announced to-morrow, and published on Wednesday².

¹ In reference to a notice from the Attorney-General for publishing Letter of JUNIUS, No. XLII. but which was never farther proceeded upon.

² This note accompanied No. xc. of the Miscellaneous Letters. The Printer had some scruples about publishing the whole of it ; and in the Public Advertiser of Feb. 20, gave the usual mark, " A Letter," that a private letter was in waiting upon this subject. In consequence of which the subsequent note was received, dated Feb. 21.

N^o 33.

SIR,

Feb. 21, 1771.

It will be very difficult, if not impracticable, for me to get your note. I presume it relates to *Vindex*¹. I leave it to you to alter or omit as you think proper;—or burn it.—I

¹ The following is a copy of the letter which Mr. Woodfall addressed to the author under the feigned name of Mr. John Fretley, and directed it to him at the New Exchange Coffee-house, in the Strand.

“ SIR,

“ To have deserved any portion of your good opinion, affords me no small degree of satisfaction—to preserve it shall be my constant endeavour. Always willing to oblige you as much as lies in my power, I, with great avidity, open your letters; and sometimes, without reading the contents, promise the publication.—Such is my present situation, and I hope you will not be offended at my declining to publish your Letter, as I am convinced the subject of it must, if I was to insert it, render me liable to very severe reprehension. That I am not grown too ministerial in my politics, every day’s paper will, I hope, sufficiently evince; though I rather hope some little regard to prudence will not by you be deemed squeamishness, or tend to lessen me in your opinion, as I shall ever think myself your

“ Much obliged humble Servant,

Feb. 19, 1771.

“ HENRY SAMPSON WOODFALL,

“ P.S. I shall wait your directions what to do with the paper in question, as I did not chuse to trust it under cover till I was further acquainted with your pleasure.”

think the argument about Gibraltar¹, &c. is too good to be lost; as to the satirical part, I must tell you, (and with positive certainty,) that our gracious — is as callous as stockfish to every thing but the reproach of *cowardice*. That alone is able to set the humours afloat. After a paper of that kind he won't eat meat for a week².

You may rely upon it, the ministry are sick of prosecutions. Those against JUNIUS cost the Treasury above six thousand pounds, and after all they got nothing but disgrace. After the paper you have printed to-day, (signed Brutus³) one would think you feared nothing. For my own part I can very truly assure you that nothing would afflict me more than to have drawn

¹ For the explanation of this passage, see Miscellaneous Letters, No. xc. signed *Vindex*.

² See Vol. II. p. 130. note.

³ This Letter was addressed to Lord North, and as it is short, it is here transcribed, in proof that JUNIUS was not severe in his opinion of it, nor singularly acrimonious in the phraseology originally adopted by himself.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD NORTH.

MY LORD,

I never address your Lordship but I feel the utmost horror and indignation; for I consider you as a man totally regardless of your own honour, and the welfare of your country.

The severity of a writer cannot be supposed to give your Lordship any uneasiness; a minister, whose schemes extend only to the exigencies of a year, but little regards his present or future reputation; yet it is a duty we owe to the public to trace

you into a personal danger, because it admits of no recompence. A little expense is not to be regarded, and I hope these papers have reimbursed you. I never will send you any thing

trace out and expose the villain wherever we can perceive him working up the ruin of his country.

The choice of your friends is an eminent indication of your abilities and the blackness of your heart.

Nam quicumq; impudicus, adulter, ganeo, alea, manu, ventre, bona patria laceravit, quique alienum æs grande conflavit, immediately flies into your arms, and reimburses himself with the plunder of his country.

Such are the guardians of our liberties and law : such are the men to whom our constitution is entrusted : and cannot we then, without any particular discernment, or any remarkable acuteness of observation, trace out the origin of our present discontents ?

It would be needless to follow you through that maze of villany, in which you have long delighted to wander ; I shall only attack those measures which occur to our more immediate consideration.

In what manner can you answer to your King for the scandalous prostitution of his crown and himself ?

In what manner can you answer to your country for the total disregard of its welfare and dignity ?

After all these formidable preparations ; after all this expensive armament, you have made shift to patch up a temporary ignominious compromise, at the trifling expense of about three millions, and the British honour.

You imagine yourself sufficiently secured in the pursuit of your infamous intentions, and in the practice of every illegal and unconstitutional measure, by the countenance of the King. Rely not too much on that protection. His Majesty must not be suffered, through a blind and ridiculous attachment to an individual,

that *I* think dangerous, but the risque' is yours, and you must determine for yourself.

C.

All the above is private.

N^o 34.

Friday Noon, April 19, 1771.

I HOPE you will approve of announcing the inclosed JUNIUS to-morrow², and publishing

dividual, or through a filial obedience, which then becomes criminal, to ruin and subvert his infatuated kingdoms.

Your late acquisition of Lord Suffolk will not do you much honour : he is of the same stamp with the rest of your adherents. His Lordship has given the world a very strong impression of his character ; and the disposition of his heart, by deserting his principal, and the cause in which he originally embarked, and by betraying that friendship, which in the more early and virtuous time of his life he had contracted. His former party need not regret the loss of him, for they are by his desertion disencumbered of a ———.

But I will now leave you, my Lord, to that mature insensibility which is only to be acquired by a steady perseverance in infamy.

Every principle of conscience you have long ago been hardy enough to discard. There has not been an action in the last two years of your life but what separately deserves imprisonment. The time may come ; and remember, my Lord, there is a very short period between a minister's imprisonment and his grave.

BRUTUS. *

* This peculiarity is the author's.

² JUNIUS, Letter XLIV. which was printed as requested.

it on Monday. If, for any reasons that do not occur to me, you should think it unadvisable to print it as it stands, I must entreat the favour of you to transmit it to Bingley, and satisfy him that it is a real JUNIUS, worth a North Briton Extraordinary. It will be impossible for me to have an opportunity of altering any part of it.

I am, very truly, your friend,

C.

N^o 35.

Thursday, June 20, 1771.

I AM strangely partial to the enclosed¹. It is finished with the utmost care. If I find myself mistaken in my judgment of this paper, I positively will never write again.

C.

Let it be announced to-morrow, JUNIUS to the Duke of Grafton for Saturday.

I think Wilkes has closed well. I hope he will keep his resolution not to write any more².

¹ JUNIUS, No. XLIX. to the Duke of Grafton.

² In allusion to the dispute between Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Horne, conducted with great acrimony, till the former resolved, as here advised, not to answer after a definite period any additional letters, in consequence of the total occupation of his time in his canvass for the office of Sheriff of London, for which he was then a candidate, and to which situation he ultimately

N^o 36.

July 16, 1771.

To prevent any unfair use being made of the enclosed, I intreat you to keep a copy of it. Then seal and deliver it to Mr. Horne. I presume you know where he is to be found¹.

C.

mately succeeded. The following is the conclusion of the letter here spoken of, which was, of course, addressed to Mr. Horne.

“ Whether you proceed, Sir, to a ~~thirtieth~~ *thirtieth*, or a *thirtieth* letter, is to me a matter of the most entire indifference. You will no longer have me your correspondent. All the efforts of your malice and rancour cannot give me a moment’s disquietude. They will only torment your own breast. I am wholly indifferent about your sentiments of me, happy in the favourable opinion of many valuable friends, in the most honourable connections, both public and private, and in the prospect of rendering myself eminently useful to my country. Formerly in exile, when I was *urbe patriaque extorris*, and torn from every sacred tie of friendship, I have moistened my bread with my tears. The rest of my life I hope to enjoy my morsel at home in peace and cheerfulness, among those I love and honour, far from the malignant eye of the false friend, and the insidious hypocrite.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.”

¹ Note inclosing JUNIUS’s Letter to the Rev. Mr. Horne, No. LII.

N° 37.

August 13, 1771.

PRAY make an erratum for *ultimate* in the paragraph about the Duke of Grafton, it should be *intimate*, the rest is very correct¹. If Mr. Horne answers this letter handsomely and in point, he shall be my great Apollo.

N° 38.

Wednesday Noon, Sept. 25, 1771.

THE enclosed is of such importance, so very material, that it *must* be given to the public immediately².

I will not advise ;—though I think you perfectly safe :—all I say is that *I rely* upon your care to have it printed either to-morrow in your own paper, or to-night in the Pacquet.

I have not been able to get yours from that place, but you shall hear from me soon.

¹ JUNIUS, Letter LIV. This letter appeared on the 13th of August, 1771, though in the author's edition it is by mistake dated the 15th.

² The Letter referred to is JUNIUS, No. LVII. and was printed in the P. A. Saturday, Sept. 28th, 1771.

N^o 39.*About Nov. 5, 1771.*

YOUR reasons ~~are~~ very just about printing the Preface, &c. It is your own affair. Do what ever you think proper. I am convinced that the book will sell, and I suppose will make two volumes,—the type might be one size larger than Wheble's. But of all this you are the best judge. I think you should give money to the waiters at that place to make them more attentive¹. The notes should be in smaller type.

Pray find out, if you can, upon what day the late Duke of Bedford was flogged on the course at Litchfield by Mr. Heston Homphrey².

N^o 40.*Friday, Nov. 8, 1771.*

THE above to that Scotchman should be printed conspicuously to-morrow³. At last I have concluded my great work, and I assure you with no small labour. I would have you

¹ A coffee-house at which letters, &c. were left for JUNIUS.

² See JUNIUS, Letter xxiii.

³ See Letters of JUNIUS, No. lxvi.

begin to advertise immediately, and publish before the meeting of parliament; let all *my* papers in defence of JUNIUS be inserted¹. I shall now supply you very fast with copy and notes. The paper and type should at least be as good as Wheble's². You must correct the press yourself, but I should be glad to see corrected proofs of the two first sheets. Shew the Dedication and Preface to Mr. Wilkes, and if he has any *material* objection, let me know. I say *material* because of the difficulty of getting your letter.

C.

(Secret.)

Beware of David Garrick³, he was sent to pump you, and went directly to Richmond to

¹ The Letters signed *Philo-Junius*: those numbered LXIII. and LXIV. and the extracts from the letters to the Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

² The present respectable proprietor and publisher of the County Chronicle.

³ Garrick had received a letter from Woodfall just before the above note of JUNIUS was sent to the Printer, in which Garrick was told, in confidence, that there were some doubts whether JUNIUS would continue to write much longer. Garrick flew with the intelligence to Mr. Ramus, one of the pages to the King, who immediately conveyed it to his Majesty, at that time residing at Richmond, and from the peculiar sources of information that were open to this extraordinary writer, JUNIUS was apprized of the whole transaction on the ensuing morning, and wrote the above postscript, and the letter that follows it, in consequence.

tell the King I should write no more. The Dedication must stand first.

N^o 41.

TO MR. DAVID GARRICK.

Nov. 10, 1771.

I AM very exactly informed of your impertinent inquiries, and of the information you so busily sent to Richmond, and with what triumph and exultation it was received. I knew every particular of it the next day.—Now mark me, vagabond.—Keep to your pantomimes, or be assured you shall hear of it. Meddle no more, thou busy informer!—It is in *my* power to make you curse the hour in which you dared to interfere with

JUNIUS^a.

^a Mr. Garrick had, before this period, been threatened for his supposed political bias to the Court, as will appear from a charge which Mr. Horne brought forward against Mr. Wilkes, during the personal altercation which took place between them in the months of May and June preceding the date of this letter, and which is more particularly noticed in the note to JUNIUS, Letter No. LII. Mr. Horne's accusation is as follows:—

“ Whilst Mr. Wilkes was in the King's Bench, he sent a threatening message to Mr. Garrick to forbid his playing the part of *Hastings* in the tragedy of *June Shore*; on account of some lines in that play which Mr. Wilkes thought applicable to his own situation. Mr. Garrick complained exceedingly
of

I would send the above to Garrick directly, but that I would avoid having this hand too commonly seen. Oblige me, then, so much as to have it copied in any hand, and sent by the penny post, that is if you dislike sending it in your own writing.—I must be more cautious than ever. I am sure I should not survive a

of the cruelty of such an interdict, and wished to be permitted to proceed in his endeavours to please the public in the common course of his profession. The patriot was inexorable; and Mr. Garrick has not appeared in that character since. The *Lord Chamberlain's* control by Act of Parliament over the pleasures of the public is exercised only over new plays."

To this charge Mr. Wilkes replied as follows, offering several justly merited compliments to the hitherto unrivalled genius of Mr. Garrick.

" TO THE REV. MR. HORNE.

" SIR,

Prince's Court. Thursday, June 6, 1771.

" Your *ninth* Letter has relieved me not a little by taking me to the theatre, and recalling to my delighted remembrance the amazing powers both of nature and art in the most wonderful genius that ever trod the English, or perhaps any stage, for his rival, Roscius, had a great defect, *erat perversissimis oculis*. You say 'whilst Mr. Wilkes was in the King's Bench,' &c. The whole of this pompous tale is, that some warm friends of Mr. Wilkes imagined that Mr. Garrick acted the part of *Hastings* at that time in a manner very different from what he had usually done, and marked too strongly some particular passages, unfavourable to the generous principles, and to the friends, of freedom. They talked of expressing their disapprobation in the theatre, at the next representation of *Jane Shore*, and likewise in the public prints.

Mr. Wilkes

discovery three days ; or, if I did, they would at-
taint me by bill. Change to the *Somerset Coffee-*
house, and let no mortal know the alteration.
I am persuaded you are too honest a man to

Mr. Wilkes therefore thought it prudent to state the case by two or three gentlemen to Mr. Garrick himself, and said, he feared the part of *Hastings* might bring on many disagreeable consequences to the great actor himself as well as to Mr. Wilkes and his connections, if continued in the manner then stated. Mr. Garrick received the friendly admonition in the most friendly way, but declared that the gentlemen, who had given Mr. Wilkes the account of his acting *Hastings*, had greatly mistaken, that he had not made the least alteration in the usual manner of acting that part on account of the political disputes of the times, but been solely guided by his own feelings : that he always had acted that part, and always should play it in the same manner, not however slavishly copying himself, but with all the variety which from time to time his genius might dictate, preserving still the cast and spirit of the original character. Nothing more passed on this subject between Mr. Garrick and me, nor has that gentleman ever expressed the slightest displeasure against Mr. Wilkes, or his friends ; so far has he been from *complaining exceedingly of the cruelty of an interdict*, which never existed.

“ Did it escape your memory, Sir, that one of the objections made at that time by my friends, was the peculiar emphasis Mr. Garrick was said to give to the following lines of *Hastings*, which some thought applicable to your situation :—

Ill befall

Such meddling Priests, who kindle up confusion,
And vex the quiet world with their vain scruples ;
By heaven 'tis done in perfect spight to peace.

“ You say, ‘ I think with half his (Mr. Garrick’s) merit I should

contribute in any way to my destruction. Act honourably by me, and at a proper time you shall know me.

I think the second page, with the widest lines, looks best. What is your essential reason for the change¹? I send you some more sheets.—I think the paper is not so good as *Wheble's*,—but I may be mistaken—the type is good. The

should have had twice his courage.' If you mean *theatrical merit*, I can tell you of some parts, in which you would infinitely exceed our great English actor. I mean all those parts from which—*fugiant Pudor, Verumque, Fidesque. In quorum subeunt Locum Fraudes, Dolique, Insidiæque, &c. &c.* You would act, and be *Iago* with success. Mr. Garrick has that *in him*, which must ever prevent his acting well in that character. You have that *in you*, which would make it easy and natural. *Shylock* too our *Roscus* must never attempt. The Christian Priest of Brentford has no *ruin scruples* to prevent his undertaking and being applauded in that part. He might then talk of *dying his black coat red with blood* in an innocent way on the stage, which at Brentford inspired a savage horror.

"The pleasing hours, which Mr. Garrick gave me at the King's Bench, I have deducted from the injury of a long and cruel imprisonment, and I think of him as Cicero did of the great Roman actor, *cum artifex ejusmodi sit, ut solus dignus videatur esse, qui in scena spectetur: tum vir ejusmodi est, ut solus dignus videatur, qui ea non accedat.*

"I am, &c.

¹ In allusion to a specimen of the intended genuine edition of the Letters.

aspersions thrown upon my letter to the Bill of Rights¹, should be refuted by publication.

Prevail upon Mr. Wilkes to let you have extracts of my second and third letters to him. It will make the book still more new. I would see them before they are printed, but keep this last to yourself².

N^o 42.

Nov. 11, 1771.

PRINT the following as soon as you think proper, and at the head of your paper³.

I sent you three sheets of copy last night.

When you send to me, instead of the usual signal, say, *Vindex shall be considered*, and keep the alteration a secret to every body.

¹ In the correspondence which took place between Mr. Wilkes and JUNIUS, two of his letters related to the Bill of Rights Society, and were written in disapprobation of several of their measures. These letters were, in many respects, misrepresented to the public, and in his own opinion, *purposely* so by Mr. Horne. The explanatory extracts here referred to, were re-published at the close of the second volume of the genuine edition, and will be found in Vol. II. p. 444. The letters are given at length in the private correspondence of JUNIUS and Mr. Wilkes.

² On the outside of this letter was written "private and particular."

³ Certain paragraphs relating to the marriage of the late Duke of Cumberland, inserted in the Preliminary Essay, p. *36.

N° 43.

About Nov. 15, 1771.

If you can find the date of the Duke of Bedford's flogging, insert it in the note¹. I think it was soon after the Westminster election.—The *Philos* are not to be placed as notes, except where I mention it particularly. I have no doubt of what you say about David Garrick—so drop the note. The truth is, that in order to curry favour, he made himself a greater rascal than he was. Depend upon what I tell you ;—the King understood that he had found out the secret by his own cunning and activity.—As it is important to deter him from meddling, I desire you will tell him that I am aware of his practices, and will certainly be revenged, if he does not desist. An appeal to the public from JUNIUS would destroy him.

Let me know whether Mr. Wilkes will give you the extracts².

I cannot proceed without answers to those seven queries.

Think no more of Junius Americanus³.—Let him reprint his letters himself. He acts most

¹ See note to Letter xxiii. of JUNIUS, *post*, p. 238.

² Referred to in No. 41.

³ Junius Americanus was a frequent writer in the Public Advertiser during the years 1769, 1770, and 1771. His letters

dishonourably, in suffering JUNIUS to be so traduced ; but this falsehood will all revert upon Horne. In the mean time, I laugh at him.

With submission I think it is not your interest to declare that I have done.

As to yourself, I really think you are in no danger. *You* are not the object, and punishing *you* (unless it answered the purpose of stopping the press) would be no gratification to the King. If undesignedly I should send you any thing you may think dangerous, judge for yourself, or take any opinion you think proper. You cannot offend or afflict me but by hazarding your own safety. They talk of farther informations, but they will always hold that language *in terrorem*.

Don't always use the same signal—any absurd Latin verse will answer the purpose '.

Let me know about what time you may want more copy.

ters chiefly related, as his signature readily suggests, to the disputes of the cabinet with the American colonies; and, in the course of his strictures, he attributed to JUNIUS doctrines, in relation to their dependance on the legislature of Great Britain, which he had never avowed, nor even inclined to. At this time there was some idea of publishing them collectively. They were written by a Dr. Charles Lee, as may be seen by a reference to the private correspondence of JUNIUS and Mr. Wilkes.

' See Preliminary Essay, page *41.

Upon reflection, I think it absolutely necessary to send that note to D. G.¹ only say *practices* instead of *impertinent inquiries*. I think you have no measures to keep with a man who could betray a confidential letter, for so base a purpose as pleasing * * * * *
 Tell me how long it may be before you want more copy.—I want rest most severely, and am going to find it in the country for a few days. Cumbriensis² has taken greatly.

N^o 44.

Nov. 27, 1771.

THE postscript to Titus must be omitted³.
 —I did never question your understanding. Far otherwise. The Latin word *simplex* conveys to

¹ David Garrick. See No. 41.

² See Miscell. Letters, No. cii. Vol. III. p. 415. It was printed in the Public Advertiser, Nov. 13th, 1771, upon the marriage of the late Duke of Cumberland with Mrs. Horton, the sister of Col. Luttrell.

³ His postscript addressed to Titus was added to his letter to Sir Wm. Draper, of Feb. 18, 1769. It engaged to give Titus a severe castigation, for having written with some degree of acrimony on the same side as the Knight of the Bath. The engagement, however, was not fulfilled under his signature of JUNIUS, and hence the propriety of omitting the postscript in question in his own edition. See farther on this subject, note to JUNIUS, Letter iv. *post*, p. 83. in which Titus's letter is inserted.

me an amiable character, and never denotes folly. Though we may not be deficient in point of capacity, it is very possible that neither of us may be cunning enough for Mr. Garrick. But with a sound heart, be assured you are better gifted, even for worldly happiness, than if you had been cursed with the abilities of a Mansfield. After long experience of the world, I affirm, before God, I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy.

Your account of my letter to the Bill of Rights astonishes me. I always thought the misrepresentation had been the work of Mr. Horne¹. I will not trust myself with suspecting. The remedy is in my own hands, but, for Mr. Wilkes's honour, I wish it to come freely and honourably from himself. Publish nothing of mine until I have seen it. In the mean time be assured, that nothing can be more express, than my declaration against long parliaments.—Try Mr. Wilkes once more—speak for me in a most friendly but *firm* tone,—that I *will not* submit to

¹ He here admits that he was mistaken in the conjecture that Horne had misrepresented the sentiments conveyed in his Letters to the Bill of Rights Society. Yet as he published the same opinion in his own edition, which is reprinted in Vol. II. p. 444. he must afterwards have had fresh grounds for re-accusing it, while in the present letter he seems more than half to suspect Wilkes himself.

be any longer aspersed.—Between ourselves let me recommend it to you to be much upon your guard with patriots.—I fear your friend Jerry Dyson will lose his Irish pension¹. Say received.

In page 25, it should be *the* instead of *your*², this is a woeful mistake ;—pray take care for the future—keep a page for errata.

David Garrick has literally forced me to break my resolution of writing no more³.

¹ He feared with reason. Jeremiah Dyson, Esq. was one of the lords of the admiralty, and in Feb. 1770, resigned his seat in favour of our late lamented foreign minister Mr. Fox, upon an Irish pension of £1500 per annum for his own life, and that of his three sons. The following is an account of the mode in which he lost it:

“ In a committee of supply of the House of Commons of Ireland, Nov. 25, 1771, after a long debate the question was put, and, on a division, it was carried against the pension, by a majority of *one*, the numbers being for it 105, against it 106; on which the House immediately resolved, ‘ That the pension granted to Jeremiah Dyson, Esq and his three sons, is an unnecessary charge upon the establishment of Ireland, and ought not to be provided for.’ Ordered, ‘ That the said pension be struck off the list of pensioners upon the establishment of Ireland.’”

² In the opening of the Letters of JUNIUS, No. III. it was originally printed in the genuine edition, “ Your defence,” &c. In the present edition the correction has been duly adopted.

³ The Letter alluded to is JUNIUS, No. LXVII.

N^o 45.

Dec. 5, 1771.

THESE papers are all in their exact order. Take great care to keep them so. In a few days more I shall have sent you all the copy. You must then take care of it yourself, except that I must see proof sheets of the Dedication and Preface, and these, if at all, I must see before the end of next week. You shall have the extract to go into the second volume, it will be a short one. Scævola, I see, is determined to make me an enemy to Lord Camden¹. If it be not wilful malice, I beg you will signify to him, that when I originally mentioned Lord Camden's declaration about the Corn Bill, it was without any view of discussing that doctrine, and only as an instance of a singular opinion maintained by a man of great learning and integrity. Such an instance was necessary to the plan of my letter. I think he has in effect injured the man whom he meant to defend.

When you send the above-mentioned proof sheets, return my own copy with them.

 N^o 46.

Dec. 10, 1771.

THE inclosed completes all the materials that I can give you. I have done *my* part. Take

¹ For further particulars of this dispute, see Letters of JUNIUS, No. LX.

care *you* do yours. There are still two letters wanting, which *I expect you will not fail* to insert in their places. One is from Philo-Junius to Scævola about Lord Camden, the other to a friend of the people about pressing¹. They must be in the course of October.—I have no view but to serve you, and consequently have only to desire that the Dedication and Preface may be correct. Look to it. If you take it upon yourself, I will not forgive your suffering it to be spoiled. I weigh every word; and every alteration, in my eyes at least, is a blemish.

I should not trouble you or myself about that blockhead Scævola, but that his absurd fiction of *my* being Lord Camden's enemy has done harm.—Every fool can do mischief; therefore signify to him what I said.

Garrick has certainly betrayed himself, probably * * * * *, who makes it a rule to betray every body that confides in him. That new disgrace of Mansfield is true²: what do

¹ These two letters are numbered *Philo-Junius*, LX. and LXII.

² The allusion is to a cause which was tried at the Summer Assizes for the county of Surrey, in 1771, Meares and Shepley against Ansell, for a trespass, in which his Lordship was supposed to have given a very partial charge in favour of the Defendant, who hereby obtained a verdict. The Plaintiffs, however, on the Michaelmas Term following, moved the Court of Common Pleas for a new trial, on the ground of the misdirection of the judge. The judge was called upon for his report, which

you mean by affirming that the Dowager is better? I tell you that she suckles toads from morning till night. I think I have now done my duty to you; so farewell.

which he could not make without sending to the Plaintiff's attorney for his affidavit of the transaction.—He made his report at last, to which he subjoined that he was perfectly satisfied with the verdict of the jury.—The Court of Common Pleas was clearly of opinion, that Lord Mansfield had acted contrary to every principle of evidence both in law and equity, in admitting Matthews and Hiscox to give parol evidence, contrary to a clear explicit agreement in writing, which they had attested—and asserted that, if such a practice was to obtain, it would go a great way towards subverting the Statute of Frauds and Perjuries, and would be a most dangerous inlet to perjury, and a means of rendering men's properties very precarious and insecure. The Court therefore set aside the verdict, and ordered a new trial; and it appeared to the Court to be so gross a misdirection, that it dispensed with the usual terms of payment of costs. Although Lord Mansfield, in his direction to the jury, represented the trespasses as small and insignificant, and the action as litigious, the Court of Common Pleas said the trespasses were obstinate, wilful, and malicious.

Mr. Rowlinson, the Plaintiff's attorney, felt so dissatisfied with the conduct of Lord Mansfield upon the occasion, that in the same term a motion was made at his instigation, to have his name struck off the Rolls of the Court of King's Bench, which was, after some expressions of astonishment, acquiesced in, when he was immediately admitted into the Common Pleas.

* He refers to the following paragraph in the Public Advertiser for December 6, 1771:—

“ We have the pleasure to assure the public, from the most undoubted authority, that the repeated accounts of Her Royal

N^o 47.

Dec. 17, 1771.

MAKE your mind easy about me, I believe you are an honest man, and I never am angry'.—Say to-morrow “ We are desired to inform Scavola, that his private note was received with the most profound indifference and contempt².” I see his design. The Duke of

Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales being very ill, and her life in great danger, are entirely false, such reports being only calculated to promote the shameful spirit of gambling, by insurance on lives.” The Princess Dowager was at this time afflicted with a cancer, and died on the 8th of January in the following year.

¹ He had received a note from Mr. Woodfall, vindicating himself from any improper motive in his communication to Mr. Garrick, which has been already referred to.

² The information to *Scavola* was duly communicated in the Public Advertiser: and the flippancy of this writer's style, and the coquetry of his political attachments, fully merited the contempt here expressed for him. His first two or three letters were written as an apology for certain inconsiderate expressions which had fallen from Lord Camden, and were not deficient in merit. They were noticed by our author under the auxiliary signature of *Philo-Junius*, in LETTERS OF JUNIUS, No. LX. Oct. 15, 1771. *Scavola*, whoever he was, became conceited by the attention thus bestowed upon him; and, more especially, as some other correspondent of the Public Advertiser had erroneously ascribed his letters to Lord Camden himself. To prove, however, that he was not Lord Camden, he now, in the midst of his general admiration of his Lordship's political character, attacks him upon a variety of, what he ventures to denominate,

Grafton has been long labouring to detach Camden. This Scævola is the wretchedest of all fools, and dirty knave.

Upon no accounts, nor for any reason whatsoever are you to write to me, until I give you notice.

When the book is finished, let me have a sett bound in vellum, gilt, and lettered JUNIUS I. II. as handsomely as you can—the edges gilt—let the sheets be well dried before binding.—I must also have two setts in blue paper covers. This is all the fee I shall ever desire of you. I think you ought not to publish before the second week in January.

The London Packet is not worth our notice. I suspect Garrick, and I would have you hint so to him.

N^o 48.

January 6, 1772.

I HAVE a thing to mention to you in great confidence. I expect your assistance, and rely upon your secrecy.

denominate, *capital errors*, and that with, at least, as much violence as any of his Lordship's avowed adversaries of the day. In few words he became a perpetual, wearisome, and contemptible scribbler; and well deserved the chastisement here given him by JUNIUS.

There is a long paper ready for publication, but which must not appear until the morning of the meeting of parliament, nor be announced in any shape whatsoever'. Much depends upon its appearing unexpectedly. If you receive it on the 8th or 9th instant, can you in a day or two have it composed, and two proof sheets struck off and sent me; and can you keep the press standing ready for the Public Advertiser of the 21st, and can all this be done with such secrecy that none of your people shall know what is going forward, except the composer, and can you rely on *his* fidelity? Consider of it, and, if it be possible, say YES, in your paper to-morrow.

I think it will take four full columns at the least, but I undertake that it shall sell.—It is essential that I should have a proof sheet, and correct it myself.

Let me know if the books are ready that I may tell you what to do with them.

N° 49.

Saturday, January 11, 1772.

YOUR failing to send me the proofs, as you engaged to do, disappoints and distresses

me extremely'. It is not merely to correct the press (though even that is of consequence), but for another most *material purpose*². This will be entirely defeated, if you do not let me have the two proofs on Monday morning.

The paper itself, is, in *my* opinion, of the highest stile of JUNIUS, and cannot fail to sell.—My reason for not announcing it was that the party might have no time to concert his measures with the Ministry. But, upon reflection, I think it may answer better (in order to excite attention) to advertise it the day before, JUNIUS to Lord Chief Justice Mansfield to-morrow.

Quoting from memory, I have made a mistake about Blackstone, where I say *that he confines the power to the Court, and does not extend it to the Judges separately*. Those lines must be omitted.—The rest is right.—If you have any regard for me or for the cause, let nothing hinder your sending the proofs on Monday.

N^o 50,

January 16, 1772.

I RETURN you the proof, with the errata, which you will be so good as to correct care-

¹ Of JUNIUS No. LXVIII. referred to in the preceding letter.

² He seems to allude to a promise, or expectation, of legal assistance from some friendly quarter.

fully. I have the greatest reason to be pleased with your care and attention, and wish it were in my power to render you some essential service.—Announce it on Monday.

Nº 51.

(Private)

Saturday, Jan. 18, 1772.

THE gentleman¹ who transacts the conveyancing part of our correspondence tells me there was much difficulty last night. For this reason, and because it could be no way material for me to see a paper on Saturday which is to appear on Monday, I resolved not to send for it.—Your hint of this morning, I suppose relates to this².—I am truly concerned to see that the publication of the book is so long delayed.—It ought to have appeared before the meeting of Parliament.—By no means would I have you insert this long letter, if it made more than the difference of two days in the publication. Believe me the delay is a real injury to the cause. The letter to M.³ may come into a new edition.

¹ Of this gentleman nothing is known.

² "*Mutare necessarium est.*" Answer to correspondents, Jan. 18th, 1772.

³ Letters of JUNIUS, No. LXVIII.

Mr. Wilkes seems not to know that Morris published that letter'.—I think you should set him right.

Nº 52.

January 25, 1772.

HAVING nothing better to do, I propose to entertain myself and the public, with torturing that * * * * * Barrington². He has just appointed a French broker his deputy, for no reason but his relation to Bradshaw³. I hear from all quarters, that it is looked upon as a most impudent insult to the Army.—Be careful not to have it known

¹ Mr. Robert Morris was a barrister, who took a very active part in the city disputes, and on the popular side, and was secretary to the Bill of Rights Society. For a further account of him, see note to Miscellaneous Letters, No. xciii. Vol. III. p. 358. He occasionally wrote in the P. A. The publication of the letter alluded to, Wilkes had attributed to a Mr. Cawdron. See Private Letter, No. 82.

² Lord Barrington was at this time Secretary for the War-Department. He had uniformly exhibited himself unfriendly to the popular cause, and when in the lower House, made the motion in 1769, for expelling Wilkes, which was seconded by Rigby. The letter that accompanied this note is numbered cv. in the Miscellaneous Collection, and the signature of JUNIUS will be found to be exchanged for that of *Veteran*.

³ Mr. Chamier, brother in law to Bradshaw, the Duke of Grafton's private Secretary. See some notice taken of him in No. LXXXIII. Vol. III. p. 306. of the Miscellaneous Letters—signature *Domitian*, date December 24, 1770.

to come from me. Such an insignificant creature is not worth the generous rage of JUNIUS. I am impatient for the book.



N^o 53.

Monday, Feb. 3, 1772.

I CONFESS I do not see the use of the table of contents. I think it will be endless and answer no purpose ;—An index of proper names and materials would in my opinion be sufficient.—You may safely defy the malice of Mr. Wheble¹. Whoever buys such a book will naturally prefer the Author's Edition, and I think it will always be a book for sale. I really am in no hurry about that sett. Purling, I hear, is to come in for Eastlow,—A sure proof of the connection between him and government². I would have you open any thing that may be brought to you for me (except from Mr. Wilkes) —and not forward it unless it be material.

That large roll contained a Pamphlet.

¹ Wheble had already printed an imperfect edition of the Letters of JUNIUS.

² John Purling, Esq. one of the directors of the East India Company, who took a very active part in their affairs, at that period.

N^o 54.*Monday, Feb. 10, 1772.*

If you have any thing to communicate, you may send it to the original place for once N. E. C.—and mention any new place you think proper, West of Temple Bar. The delay of the book spoils every thing.

N^o 55.
Monday Night, Feb 17, 1772.

SURELY you have misjudged it very much about the book. I could not have conceived it possible that you could protract the publication so long.—At this time, particularly before Mr. Sawbridge's motion¹, it would have been of singular use. You have trifled too long with the public expectation.—At a certain point of time the appetite palls.—I fear you have already lost the season.—The book, I am sure, will lose the greatest part of the effect I expected from it.—But I have done.

N^o 56.
About Feb. 22, 1772.

I do you the justice to believe that the delay has been unavoidable. The expedient

¹ In favour of triennial parliaments, as already noticed in a note to the Preliminary Dissertation.

· you propose of printing the Dedication and Preface in the P. A. is unadvisable. The attention of the public would then be quite lost to the book itself. I think your rivals will be disappointed. Nobody will apply to *them* when they can be supplied at the fountain head. I hope you are too forward to have any room for that letter of Domitian¹, otherwise it is merely indifferent. The Latin I thought much superior to the English.—The intended bill, in consequence of the message, will be a most dangerous innovation in the internal policy of this country².—What an abandoned prostituted ideot is your Lord Mayor³. The shameful mismanagement which brought him into office, gave me the first and an unconquerable disgust.—All I can now say is make haste with the book.—

C.

The appointment of this broker⁴ I am told gives universal disgust. That * * * * *
* * * * *⁵ would never have taken a step apparently so absurd, if there were not some

¹ This letter, for the reason here stated, was not printed in the genuine edition.

² The bill alluded to is the Royal Marriage Act.

³ In allusion to the partial and impolitic conduct of Mr. Nash, at this time Lord Mayor, upon the common questions of city politics brought before him, especially in refusing to call a common hall, agreeably to a request very generally signified to him for this purpose.

⁴ Chamier. ⁵ Lord Barrington.

wicked design in it more than we are aware of. At any rate the broker should be run down. That at least is due to his master.

N^o 57.

Saturday, Feb. 29, 1772.

I AM very glad to see that the book will be out before Sawbridge's motion. There is no occasion for a mark of admiration at the end of the motto. But it is of no moment whatsoever. When you see Mr. W. pray return him my thanks for the trouble he has taken. I wish he had taken more'.—I should be glad to have a sett, sewed, left at the same place to-morrow evening. Let it be well sealed up.

C.

N^o 58.

Tuesday, March 3, 1772.

YOUR letter was twice refused last night, and the waiter as often attempted to see the person who sent for it.—I was impatient to see the book, and think I had a right to that attention a little before the general publica-

¹ Mr. Wilkes, at the request of Juntus, perused and revised the Dedication and Preface to the genuine edition of the letters.

tion¹. When I desired to have two setts sewed and one bound in vellum, it was not from a principle of œconomy. I despise such little savings, and shall still be a purchaser.—If I was to buy as many setts as I want, it would be remarked.

Pray let the *two* setts be well parcelled up and left at the bar of Munday's Coffee-house, Maiden Lane, with the same direction, and with orders to be delivered to a chairman who will ask for them in the course of to-morrow evening. Farewell.

N^o 59.

Thursday, March 5, 1772.

Your letters with the books are come safe to hand. The difficulty of corresponding arises from situation, and necessity to which we must submit. Be assured I will not give you more trouble than is unavoidable.—If the vellum books are not yet bound, I would wait for the index. If they are, let me know by a line in the P. A.—When they are ready, they may safely be left at the same place as last night.

¹ The genuine edition of the letters was published on the third of March, 1772.

On your account I was alarmed at the price of the book.—But of the sale of books I am no judge, and can only pray for your success.—What you say about the profits¹ is very handsome. I like to deal with such men. As for myself, be assured that I am far above all pecuniary views, and no other person I think has any claim to share with you. Make the most of it therefore, and let all your views in life be directed to a solid, however moderate independence. Without it no man can be happy, nor even honest.—

If I saw any prospect of uniting the city once more, I would readily continue to labour in the vineyard. Whenever Mr. Wilkes can tell me that such an union is in prospect, he shall hear of me.

Quòd si quis existimat me aut voluntate esse mutatâ, aut debilitatâ virtute, aut animo fracto, vehementer errat. Farewell.

In the Preface, p. 20, line 7, read unseasonable
p. 26, — 18, — accuracy².

¹ Woodfall made JUNIUS an offer of half the profits of the book, or if he should decline accepting them for himself, to give a sum of money equal to their amount, to any charity which he should chuse to name.

² These errors are corrected in the present edition.

N^o 60.

May 4, 1772.

IF *pars pro toto*¹ be meant for me, I
 m^o beg the favour of you to recall it. At pre-
 sent it would be difficult for me to receive it.—
 When the books are ready, a Latin verse will be
 sufficient.

N^o 61.

Sunday, May 3, 1772.

I AM in no manner of hurry about the
 books. I hope the sale has answered.—I think
 it will always be a saleable book. The inclosed
 is fact, and I wish it could be printed to-mor-
 row. It is not worth announcing. The pro-
 ceedings of this wretch are unaccountable.
 There must be some mystery in it which I hope
 will soon be discovered to his confusion.—Next
 to the Duke of Grafton, I verily believe that the
 blackest heart in the kingdom belongs to Lord
 Barrington².

¹ A line in the Printer's notice to correspondents, introduc-
 ed as in signal that a letter, or parcel, was in waiting for him
 at the usual place.

² This note accompanied the letter signed *Scotus*, addressed
 to his Lordship, and was printed as requested. See Miscella-
 neous Letters, No. cxi. The Autograph is still in the hands of
 the proprietor of this edition.

N^o 62.

May 10, 1772.

PRAY let this be announced, *Memoirs of Lord Barrington in our next*¹. Keep the author a secret.

N^o 63.

January 19, 1773.

I HAVE seen the signals thrown out for your old friend and correspondent. Be assured that I have had good reason for not complying with them. In the present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle, that run mad through the city, or as any of your wise aldermen. I meant the cause and the public. Both are given up. I feel for the honour of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it, who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike, vile and contemptible.

You have never flinched that I know of; and I shall always rejoice to hear of your prosperity.

If you have any thing to communicate (of

¹ The annunciation under this title, appeared in the notice to correspondents, Public Advertiser, May 11, and the Memoirs were printed in a letter bearing the signature of *Nemesis*, May 12, See Miscellaneous Letters, No. CXLIII.

moment to yourself) you may use the ~~last~~ address, and give a hint '.

Nº 64.

SIR,

I HAVE troubled you with the perusal of two letters, as that of the prior date accounts for the delay of not sending the books sooner; and this acquaints you that I did not get them out of the bookbinder's hands till yesterday; nor though I desired them to be finished in the most elegant manner possible, are they done so well as I wished. But, Sir, if the manner of the contents and index are not agreeable to you, they shall be done over again according to any directions you shall please to favour me with.—With respect to City politics, I fear the breach is too wide ever to be again closed, and even my friend Mr. Wilkes lost some of his wonted coolness at the late election on Sawbridge, Oliver, &c. scratching against him². I hope you will

¹ This letter was thus noticed in the answer to correspondents in the P. A. March 8, 1773. "The letter from AN OLD FRIEND and CORRESPONDENT, dated Jan. 19. came safe to hand, and his directions are strictly followed. *Quod si quis existimat, aut, &c.*"

² Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Townshend were, after a sharp contest, returned to the court of Aldermen for them to make their election

believe that however agreeable to me it must be to be honoured with your correspondence, I should never entertain the most distant wish that one ray of your splendour should be diminished by your continuing to write.—Mr. Wilkes indeed mentioned to me the other day that he thought the East India Company a proper subject; and asked if I could communicate any thing to you, to which my reply was that I could not tell, (as I did not know whether you might chuse to be intruded upon.) You will perceive by the papers that two persons have forced themselves upon us, who, without a tythe of Mr. Wilkes's abilities, imagine the public will look up to them as their deliverers; but they are most egregiously mistaken, as every one who possesses a grain of common sense hold them in almost utter contempt. You will probably guess who I mean, and were I capable of drawing a parallel, I should borrow some part of it from Shakespeare's Iago and Roderigo.—

election of one of these gentlemen to the mayoralty for the year 1772, when their choice fell upon Mr. Alderman Townshend, in consequence of Sawbridge and Oliver scratching against Wilkes. The candidates for that office, with the number which they polled, were as under:

Mr. Alderman Wilkes	—	2301
Townshend	—	2278
Hallifax	—	2126
Shakespeare	—	1912

Should it please the Almighty to spare your life till the next general election, and I should at that time exist, I shall hope you will deign to instruct me for whom I should give my vote, as my wish is to be represented by the most honest and able, and I know there cannot be any one who is so fit to judge as yourself. I have no connexions to warp me, nor am I acquainted with but one person who would speak to me on the subject, and that gentleman is, I believe, a true friend to the real good of his country; I mean Mr. Glover, the author of *Leonidas*. As I thought serjeant Glyn deserving of something more than the mere fees of his profession, for the pains he took upon my trial, I have made a purchase of a small freehold at Brentford by way of qualification, in order to convince him, if he should offer himself at the next election, whenever it should happen, that I hold his services in grateful remembrance. But I am since informed that it is not his intention, and that Lord Percy is to be joined with Sir W. B. Proctor, who is to be supported by the Duke of Northumberland's interest.—I have heard much of a most trimming letter from Mr. Stewart to Lord Mansfield on the Douglas cause, but cannot possibly get a copy, which probably would be a good letter to print.—

If, Sir, you should not disapprove of the Con-

tents and Index, I thought of advertising them in the manner of the enclosed form, if I have your permission so to do, but not otherwise.— May I beg the favour of a line in answer? Believe me, Sir, to be, with gratitude and respect,

Your much obliged
humble servant to command,

HENRY SAMPSON WOODFALL.

Sunday, March 7, 1773.

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

JUNIUS AND MR. WILKES.

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

JUNIUS AND MR. WILKES.

N^o 65.

TO JOHN WILKES, ESQ.

London, 21st August, 1771¹.

I PRESUME, Sir, you are satisfied that I mean you well, and that it is not necessary to assure you that while you adhere to the resolution of depending only upon the public favour, (which, if you have half the understanding I attribute to you, you never can depart from) you may rely upon my utmost assistance. What-

¹ On this letter is written in Mr. Wilkes's own hand, the following memorandum :

" August 21, 1771.

" Received on Wednesday noon by a chairman, who said he brought it from a gentleman whom he saw in Lancaster Court, in the Strand.

J. W."

ever imaginary views may be ascribed to the author, it must always make part of JUNIUS's plan to support Mr. Wilkes while *he* makes common cause with the people. I would engage your favourable attention to what I am going to say to you; and I intreat you not to be too hasty in concluding, from the apparent tendency of this letter, to any possible interests or connexions of my own. It is a very common mistake in judgment, and a very dangerous one in conduct, first to look for nothing in the argument proposed to us, but the motive of the man who uses it, and then to measure the truth of his argument by the motive we have assigned to him. With regard to me, Sir, any refinement in this way would assuredly mislead you; and though I do not disclaim the idea of some personal views to future honour and advantage, (you would not believe me if I did) yet I can truly affirm, that neither are they little in themselves, nor can they by any possible conjecture be collected from my writings.

Mr. Horne, after doing much mischief, is now, I think, completely defeated and disarmed. The author of the late unhappy divisions in the city is removed.—Why should we suffer his works to live after him? In this view, I confess, I am vindictive, and would visit his sins upon his children. I would punish him in his offspring,

by repairing the breaches he has made.—Convinced that I am speaking to a man who has spirit enough to act if his judgment be satisfied, I will not scruple to declare at once, that Mr. Sawbridge ought to be Lord Mayor, and that he ought to owe it to *your* first motion, and to the exertion of all your credit in the city.—I affirm, without a doubt, that political prudence, the benefit of the cause, your public reputation and personal interest, do all equally demand this conduct of you.—I do not deny that a stroke like this is above the level of vulgar policy, or that if you were a much less considerable man than you are, it would not suit you. But you will recollect, Sir, that the public opinion of you rises every day, and that you must enlarge your plan as you proceed, since you have every day a new acquisition of credit to maintain.—I offer you the sincere opinion of a man, who, perhaps, has more leisure to make reflections than you have, and who, though he stands clear of all business and intrigue, mixes sufficiently for the purposes of intelligence in the conversation of the world.

Whatever language you in prudence assume to the public, you cannot but be sensible that the separation of those gentlemen who withdrew from the Bill of Rights was of considerable disservice to you. It required, in my opinion,

your utmost dexterity and resolution, and not a little of your good fortune, to get the better of it. But are you now really upon the best ground on which Mr. Wilkes might stand in the city? Will you say, that to separate Mr. Sawbridge from a connexion every way hostile to you, and to secure him against the insidious arts of Mr. Horne, and the fury of Mr. Townshend, (if it could be done without embarrassing your leading measures, and much more if it promoted them) would not give you a considerable personal gratification?—Will you say, that a public declaration of Mr. Sawbridge in your favour, and the appearance of your acting together, (I do not speak at present of a hearty coalition or confidence) would not contribute to give you a more secure, a more permanent, and without offence to any man, a more honourable hold upon the city than you have at present? What sensations do you conceive a union between you and Mr. Sawbridge would excite in the breast of Mr. Horne? Would it not amount to a decisive refutation of all the invidious arguments he has drawn from your being deserted by so many of the considerable figures of the party? The answer to these questions is too obvious to be mistaken. But you will say to yourself what you would not confess to JUNIUS.—‘ Mr. Sawbridge is a man of unquestionable probity, and the con-

currence of his reputation would undoubtedly be of service to me; but he has not pliancy enough to yield to persuasion, and I, Wilkes, am determined not to suffer another to reap the harvest of my labours: that is, to take the lead of me in the city.'—Sir, I do not mean or expect that you should make such a sacrifice to any man. But besides difference in point of conduct between leading and going foremost, I answer your thoughts when I say, that although Mr. Sawbridge is not to be directed (and even this perhaps is not so literally and completely true as he himself imagines) on the other hand he does not mean to direct. His disposition, as you well know, is not fitted for that active management and intrigue which acquire an operating popularity, and direct the people by their passions. I attribute to you both the most honourable intentions for the public, but you travel different roads, and never can be rivals.—It is not that Mr. Sawbridge does not wish to be popular; but, if I am not greatly mistaken, his virtues have not ostentation enough for the ordinary uses of party, and *that* they lead rather to the esteem of individuals than to popular opinion.—This I conceive is exactly the man you want—you cannot always support a ferment in the minds of men. There will necessarily be moments of languor and fatigue; and upon these

occasions Mr. Sawbridge's reputed firmness and integrity may be a capital resource to you,—you have too much sagacity not to perceive how far this reasoning might be carried.

In the very outset, you reap a considerable advantage, either from his acceptance or refusal.—What a copious subject of ostentation!—what rich colours to the public! your zeal to restore tranquillity to the city.—The sacrifice of all personal recollections in favour of a man whose general character you esteem;—the public good preferred to every private or interested consideration, with a long *et cætera* to your own advantage.—Yet I do not mean to persuade you to so simple a part as that of contributing to gratify Mr. Sawbridge, without a reciprocal assurance from him, that upon fair and honourable occasions he will in return promote your advantage.—Your own judgment will easily suggest to you such terms of acknowledgment as may be binding upon him in point of gratitude, and not offensive to his delicacy.—I have not entered into the consideration of any objections drawn from the fertile field of provocation and resentment.—Common men are influenced by common motives;—but you, Sir, who pretend to lead the people, must act upon higher principles. To make our passions subservient to you, you must command your own. The man, who for any

personal indulgence whatsoever, can sacrifice a great purpose to a little one, is not qualified for the management of great affairs.—

Let me suppose then that every material difficulty on your part is removed; and that, as far as you alone are concerned, you would be ready to adopt the plan I propose to you.

If you are a man of honour you will still have a powerful objection to oppose to me. Admitting the apparent advantage to your own purposes, and to the cause you are engaged in, you will tell me ‘that you are no longer at liberty to chuse;—that the desertion of those persons who once possessed a warm attachment to you, has reduced you to a situation in which you cannot do that which is absolutely best;—that Mr. Crosby has deserved every thing from *you* and from the city, and that you stand engaged to contribute your whole strength to continue him another year in the mayoralty.’—My reply to this very just objection is addressed rather to Mr. Crosby than to Mr. Wilkes. He ought at all events to be satisfied; and if I cannot bring him over to my opinion, there is an end of the argument; for I do agree with you most heartily, that it is as gross a breach of policy as of morals, to sacrifice the man who has deserved well of us to any temporary benefit whatsoever. Far from meaning to separate you from Mr.

Crosby, it is essential to the measure I recommend, that it should be your joint act. Nay, it is he who in the first instance should open the communication with Mr. Sawbridge; nor is it possible for you to gain any credit by the measure in which he will not of necessity be a considerable sharer. But now, for considerations which immediately affect Mr. Crosby.

Your plan, as I am informed, is to engage the livery to return him with Mr. Bridgen.—In my own opinion the court of aldermen will choose Bridgen, consequently the sacrifice I require of Mr. Crosby would in effect be nothing. That he will be defeated is to my judgment inevitable. It is for him to consider whether the idea of a defeat be not always attended with some loss of reputation. In that case too he will have forced upon the citizens (whom he professes to love and respect) a magistrate, upon whose odious and contemptible character he at present founds his only hopes of success.—Do you think that the city will not once in the course of a twelve-month be sensible of the displeasure you have done them?—Or that it will not be placed in strong terms to your account. I appeal to Miss Wilkes, whose judgment I hear highly commended,—would she think herself much indebted to her favourite admirer, if he forced a most disagreeable partner upon her for a long winter's

night, because he could not dance with her himself?

You will now say;—‘ Sir, we understand the politics of the city better than you do, and are well assured that Mr. Crosby will be chosen Lord Mayor;—otherwise we allow that upon your plan he might acquire credit without forfeiting any real advantage.’ Upon this ground I expect you, for I confess it is incumbent upon me to meet your argument, where it lies strongest against me.—Taking it for granted, then, that Mr. Crosby may be Lord Mayor, I affirm that it is not his interest, because it is not his greatest interest. The little profit of the salary cannot possibly be in contemplation with him.—I do not doubt that he would rather make it an expensive office to himself. His view must be directed then to the flattering distinction of succeeding to a second mayoralty, and, what is still more honourable, to the being thought worthy of it by his fellow-citizens.—Placing this advantage in its strongest light, I say that every purpose of distinction is as completely answered by his being known to have had the employment in his power (which may be well insisted upon in argument, and never can be disproved by the fact) as by his accepting it. To this I add the signal credit he will acquire with every honest man by renouncing, upon motives of the clearest and most disinterested public spirit, a

personal honour, which you may fairly tell the world was unquestionably within his reach.— But these are trifles.—I assert that by now accepting the mayoralty (which he may take hereafter whenever he pleases) he precludes himself from soliciting, with any colour of decency, a real and solid reward from the city.—I mean that he should be returned for London in the next Parliament.—I think his conduct entitles him to it, and that he cannot fail of succeeding if he does not furnish his opponents with too just a pretence for saying that the city have already rewarded him. On the contrary with what force and truth may he tell his fellow-citizens at the next election, ‘for your sakes I relinquished the honour you intended me. The common good required it. But I did not mean to renounce my hopes that upon a proper occasion you would honour me with a public mark of your approbation.’

You see I do not insist upon the good effects of Mr. Sawbridge’s gratitude, yet I am sure it may be depended upon. I do not say that he is a man to go all lengths with Mr. Wilkes; but you may be assured that it is not danger that will deter him, and that wherever you have the voice of the people with you, he will, upon principle, support their choice at the hazard of his life and fortune.

Now, Sir, supposing all objections are re-

moved, and that you and Mr. Crosby are agreed, the question is in what manner is the business to be opened to Mr. Sawbridge. Upon this point too I shall offer you my opinion, because the plan of this letter would not otherwise be complete.—At the same time I do very unaffectedly submit myself to your judgment.

I would have my Lord Mayor begin by desiring a private interview between him, Mr. Crosby and yourself. Very little preface will be necessary. You have a man to deal with who is too honourable to take an unfair advantage of you. With such a man you gain every thing by frankness and candour, and hazard nothing by the confidence you repose in him.—Notwithstanding any passages in this letter I would shew him the whole of it; in a great business there is nothing so fatal as cunning management;—and I would tell him it contained the plan upon which Mr. Crosby and you were desirous to act, provided he would engage to concur in it *bond fide*, so far forth as he was concerned. There is one condition I own which appears to me a *sine quâ non*; and yet I do not see how it can be proposed in terms unless his own good sense suggests the necessity of it to him.—I mean the total and absolute renunciation of Mr. Horne. It

is very likely indeed that this gentleman may do the business for himself, either by laying aside the masque at once, or by abusing Mr. Sawbridge for accepting the mayoralty upon any terms whatsoever of accommodation with Mr. Wilkes.

This letter, Sir, is not intended for a correct or polished composition ; but it contains the very best of JUNIUS's understanding. Do not treat me so unworthily, or rather do not degrade yourself so much, as to suspect me of any interested view to Mr. Sawbridge's particular advantage. By all that's honourable I mean nothing but the cause ; and I may defy your keenest penetration to assign a satisfactory reason why JUNIUS, whoever he be, should have a personal interest in giving the mayoralty to Mr. Sawbridge, rather than to Mr. Crosby.

I am heartily weary of writing, and shall reserve another subject, on which I mean to address you, for another opportunity.—I think that this letter, if you act upon it, should be a secret to every body but Mr. Sawbridge and my Lord Mayor.

JUNIUS*.

* The plan recommended by JUNIUS in the above letter was not acted upon by Mr. Wilkes, for the reasons assigned by him in his letter of Sept. 12, 1771, (No. 67.) The consequence

N^o 66.

TO JOHN WILKES, ESQ.

London, 7th Sept. 1771¹.

As this letter, Sir, has no relation to the subject of my last, the motives upon which you may have rejected one of my opinions, ought not to influence your judgment of another. I am not very sanguine in my expectations of persuading, nor do I think myself intitled to quarrel with any man, for not following my advice ; yet this, I believe, is a species

quence was, that Mr. Alderman Nash, the ministerial candidate, was elected Lord Mayor, to the infinite mortification of JUNIUS, who, in Private Letter, No. 56, makes the following observation upon him and his election. " What an abandoned, prostituted idiot is your Lord Mayor ! The shameful mismanagement, which brought him into office, gave me the first, and an unconquerable disgust." The subjoined is a list of the candidates for that office, with the numbers affixed to their respective names as they stood at the close of the poll :—

For Mr. Alderman Nash	- -	2199
Mr. Alderman Sawbridge	-	1879
The Lord Mayor	- - -	1795
Mr. Alderman Halifax	- -	846
Mr. Alderman Townshend	-	151
Sir Henry Bankes	- - -	36

* Marked by Mr. Wilkes, " Received in Prince's Court, Saturday, Sept. 7, 1771."

of injustice you have often experienced from your friends. From you, Sir, I expect in return, that you will not remember how unsuccessfully I have recommended one measure to your consideration, lest you should think yourself bound to assert your consistency, and, in the true spirit of persecution, to pass the same sentence indifferently upon all my opinions. Forgive this levity, and now to the business.

A man, who honestly engages in a public cause, must prepare himself for events which will at once demand his utmost patience, and rouse his warmest indignation. I feel myself, at this moment, in the very situation I describe; yet from the common enemy I expect nothing but hostilities against the people. It is the conduct of our friends that surprises and afflicts me. I cannot but resent the injury done to the common cause by the assembly at the London Tavern, nor can I conceal from you my own particular disappointment. They had it in their power to perform a real, effectual service to the nation; and we expected from them a proof, not only of their zeal, but of their judgment.—Whereas the measure they have adopted is so shamefully injudicious, with regard to its declared object, that, in my opinion, it will, and reasonably ought, to make their zeal very questionable with the people they mean to serve.

When I see a measure excellent in itself, and not absolutely unattainable, either not made the principal object, or extravagantly loaded with conditions palpably absurd or impracticable, I cannot easily satisfy myself, that the man, who proposes it, is quite so sincere as he pretends to be. *You* at least, Mr. Wilkes, should have shewn more temper and prudence, and a better knowledge of mankind. No personal respects whatsoever should have persuaded you to concur in these ridiculous resolutions. But my own zeal, I perceive, betrays me : I will endeavour to keep a better guard upon my temper, and apply to your judgment in the most cautious and measured language.

I object, in the first place, to the bulk, and much more to the stile of your resolutions of the 23d of July * ; though some part of the

* A copy of which is subjoined, to enable the reader the better to understand JUNIUS's objections to them. They are as follow :—

London Tavern, July 23, 1771.

SUPPORTERS OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

SAVAGE BARRELL, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

Resolved,

THAT the preamble, with the articles reported this day from the committee, be printed and published from this society.

Whoever seriously considers the conduct of administration, both at home and abroad, can hardly entertain a doubt, that a plan is formed to subvert the constitution.

preamble is as pointed as I could wish. You talk of yourselves with too much authority and importance. By assuming this false pomp and air of consequence, you either give general disgust, or, what is infinitely more dangerous, you expose yourselves to be laughed at. The English are a fastidious people, and will not submit

In the same manner, whoever attentively examines into the proceedings of the present House of Commons, must apprehend, that such another house for seven years, after the termination of the present parliament, would effectually accomplish the views of the Court, and leave no hope of redress but in an appeal to God.

The Middlesex election, taken on its true ground; the employment of the standing army, in St. George's Fields; the granting half a million, without enquiring into the expenditure of the civil list money, and upon the dangerous principle of considering the debts of the civil list as the debts of the nation; and encroaching, to discharge them, upon the sinking fund, the great support of public credit; the attempts made on juries, the last sacred bulwark of liberty and law; the arbitrary and venal hand with which government is conducted in Ireland; the new and most unconstitutional mode of raising a revenue on the people of America, without asking the consent of their representatives; the introduction of an universal excise in America, instead of the laws of customs; the advancing the military above the civil power, and employing troops to awe the legislature:—All these are measures of so marked, so mischievous a nature, that it is impossible they should be unfelt or misunderstood: yet these are measures which the House of Commons have acquiesced in, countenanced, or executed.

If the present House of Commons then have given such
vital

to be talked to in so high a tone, by a set of private gentlemen, of whom they know nothing, but that they call themselves *Supporters of the Bill of Rights*. There are questions, which, in good policy, you should never provoke the people in general to ask themselves. At the same time, Sir, I am far from meaning to undervalue the

vital wounds to the constitution, who is it can doubt, who is it can hope, that the conduct of such another House, will not be mortal to our liberties?

The trustees of the people should be pure of all interested communication with the Court or its ministers; yet the corrupt correspondence between the members of the House and the Court is as notorious now as it is abhorrent from every great and good purpose of their institution. Placemen, pensioners, contractors and receivers of lottery tickets, abound to such a degree in the House of Commons, that it is impossible a House so constituted can do their duty to the people.

It must be plain to the most common apprehension, that men deputed by the people, to watch over and guard their rights against the Crown and its ministers, and, for that purpose, vested with the transcendent powers of refusing aid to the one, and impeaching the other, can never duly exercise those powers, or fulfil the intention of their election, if they are kept in pay of that Crown and those ministers. What is the plain and inevitable consequence then of entrusting such men with the guardianship of our rights, but that our rights must be betrayed and violated? Thus we have seen a House of Commons infringing, as the Court had pre-ordained, the sacred birthright of the people in the freedom of election; erasing a judicial record; committing to the Tower, and threatening with impeachment, the friends of the people, and the defenders of the law; while the favourites of the Court are
suffered

institution of this society. On the contrary, I think the plan was admirable; that it has already been of signal service to the public, and may be of much greater; and I do most earnestly wish, that you would consider of, and promote a plan for forming constitutional clubs all through the kingdom. A measure of this kind would alarm

suffered to sport with the laws, and trample on the constitution, not only with impunity, but with approbation; curbing the people rigorously, and without feeling; while they uphold ministers, who are abhorred by the nation, in the most dangerous and alarming exertions of power; granting money with the most liberal, the most licentious hand to those ministers against whom the voice of the people calls loudly for impeachment. We have a suspecting people, and a confiding representative; a complaining people, and an exulting representative; a remonstrating people, and an addressing adulating representative,—a representative, that is an engine of oppression in the hand of the Crown, instead of being a grand controuling inquest in favour of the people. Such a representative is a monster in the constitution. which must fill every considerate man with grief, alarm, astonishment, and indignation.

It is corruption that has engendered, nursed, and nourished this monster. Against such corruption, then, all men, who value the preservation of their dearest rights, are called upon to unite. Let us remember, that we ourselves, our children, and our posterity, must be freemen or slaves; as we preserve or prostitute the noble birthright our ancestors bequeathed us: for should this corruption be once firmly rooted, we shall be an undone people.

Already is it fixed among the representative, and we taste, a thousand ways, the bitter fruit which it produces; should it extend equally to the electors, we must fall, as Greece and Rome

government more, and be of more essential service to the cause, than any thing that can be done relative to new-modelling the House of Commons. You see then, that my objections are directed to the particular measure, not to the general institution.

In the consideration of this measure, my Rome have fallen, by the same means, from the same liberty and glory, to slavery, contempt, and wretchedness.

Impressed with these ideas, the gentlemen who compose the Society of the Bill of Rights, have determined to use their utmost endeavours to exterminate this corruption. by providing for the freedom of election, the equal representation of the people, the integrity of the representative, and the redress of grievances. It is their great wish to render the House of Commons what it constitutionally ought to be, the temple of liberty. With these views they have drawn up the following articles, which they now submit to the electors of Great Britain. At the same time they, with great deference, take the liberty of recommending to the independent electors to form those articles into a solemn declaration, which the candidates, whom they support, shall be required as the indispensable condition of their being supported to sign and seal, publicly, at the general meeting, or at the place of election, binding themselves, by oath, to a due and sacred observance of what is therein contained.

The declaration so executed, may be deposited in the hands of the coroner, clerk of the peace, or magistrate before whom the oath was made, as a public memorial of what the constituent has demanded, and the representative has pledged himself to perform.

1. You shall consent to no supplies, without a previous redress of grievances.
2. You shall promote a law, subjecting each candidate to an oath,

first objection goes to the declared purpose of the resolutions, in the terms and mode in which you have described it, viz. *the extermination of corruption*. In my opinion, you grasp at the impossible, and lose the really attainable. Without plaguing you or myself with a logical argument upon a speculative question, I willingly appeal to your own candour and judgment. Can any man in his senses affirm, that, as things are now circumstanced in this country, it is possible to *exterminate corruption*? Do you seriously think it possible to carry through both houses such a place-bill as you describe in the fifth article; or, supposing it carried, that it would not be evaded? When you talk of con-

oath, against having used bribery, or any other illegal means of compassing his election.

3. You shall promote, to the utmost of your power, a full and equal representation of the people in parliament.

4. You shall endeavour to restore annual parliaments.

5. You shall promote a pension and place-bill, enacting, That any member who receives a place, pension, contract, lottery ticket, or any other emolument whatsoever from the Crown, or enjoys profit from any such place, pension, &c. shall not only vacate his seat, but be absolutely ineligible during his continuance under such undue influence.

6. You shall impeach the ministers who advised the violating the right of the freeholders in the Middlesex election; and the military murders in St. George's Fields.

7. You shall make strict enquiry into the conduct of Judges touching Juries.

8. You

tracts and lottery tickets, do you think that any human law can really prevent their being distributed and accepted, or do you only intend to mortify *Townshend* and *Harley*? In short, Sir, would you, *bonâ fide*, and as a man of honour, give it for your expectation and opinion, that there is a single county or borough in the kingdom, that will form the declaration recommended to them in these resolutions, and enforce it upon the candidates? For myself, I will tell you freely, not what I *think*, but what I *know*; the resolutions are either totally neglected in the country, or, if read, are laughed at, and by people who mean as well to the cause as any of us.

8. You shall make strict enquiry into the application of the public money.

9. You shall use your utmost endeavours to have the resolution of the House of Commons expunged, by which the magistrates of the city of London were arbitrarily imprisoned, for strictly adhering to their charter and their oaths; and also that resolution by which a judicial record was erased to stop the course of justice.

10. You shall attend to the grievances of our fellow-subjects in Ireland, and second the complaints they may bring to the throne.

11. You shall endeavour to restore to America the essential right of taxation, by representatives of their own free election; repeal the acts passed in violation of that right, since the year 1763; and the universal excise, so notoriously incompatible with every principle of British liberty, which has been lately substituted, in the colonies, for the laws of customs.

SAVAGE BARRELL, Esq; CHAIRMAN.

With regard to the articles taken separately, I own I am concerned to see that the great condition, which ought to be the *sine quâ non* of parliamentary qualification, which ought to be the basis, as it assuredly will be the only support, of every barrier raised in defence of the constitution; I mean *a declaration upon oath to shorten the duration of parliaments*, is reduced to the fourth rank in the esteem of the Society, and, even in that place, far from being insisted on with firmness and vehemence, seems to have been particularly slighted in the expression, *you shall endeavour to restore annual parliaments*. Are these the terms which men who are in earnest make use of, when the *salus reipublicæ* is at stake! I expected other language from Mr. Wilkes. Besides my objection in point of form, I disapprove highly of the meaning of the fourth article, as it stands:—Whenever the question shall be seriously agitated, I will endeavour (and if I live will assuredly attempt it) to convince the English nation, by arguments, to *my* understanding unanswerable, that they ought to insist upon a triennial, and banish the idea of an annual parliament.

Article 1. The terms of the first article would have been very proper a century or two ago, but they are not adapted to the present state of the constitution. The King does not

act *directly* either in imposing or redressing *grievances*. We need not *now* bribe the crown to do us justice; and, as to the refusal of supplies, we might punish ourselves indeed, but it would be no way compulsory upon the King. With respect to his civil list, he is already independent, or might be so, if he has common sense, or common resolution: and as for refusing to vote the army or navy, I hope we shall never be mad enough to try an experiment every way so hazardous. But, in fact, the effort would be infinitely too great for the occasion. All we want is an honest representative, or at least such a one as will have some respect for the constituent body. Formerly the House of Commons were compelled to *bargain* with the Sovereign. At present they may prescribe their own conditions. So much, in general, for *grievances*: as to particular *grievances*, almost all those we complain of are, apparently, the acts either of the Lords or the *Commons*. The appointment of unworthy ministers, is not strictly a *grievance*, (that is, a legal subject of complaint to the King) until those ministers are arraigned and convicted in due course of law. If, after that, the King should persist in keeping them in office, it would be a *grievance* in the strict, legal sense of the word, and would undoubtedly justify rebellion according to the forms, as well as the spirit of

the constitution. I am far from condemning the late addresses to the throne. They ought to be incessantly repeated. The people, by the singular situation of their affairs, are compelled to do the duty of the House of Commons.

Article 2. I object to the second article, because I think that multiplying oaths is only multiplying perjury. Besides this, I am satisfied that, with a triennial parliament (and without it all other provisions are nugatory) Mr. Grenville's bill is, or may be made, a sufficient guard against any gross, or flagrant offences in this way.

Article 3. The terms of the third article are too loose and indefinite to make a distinct or serious impression. That the people are not equally and fully represented is unquestionable. But let us take care what we attempt. We may demolish the venerable fabric we intend to repair; and where is the strength and virtue to erect a better in its stead? I should not, for my own part, be so much moved at the corrupt and odious practices, by which inconsiderable men get into parliament; nor even at the want of a perfect representation, (and certainly nothing can be less reconcileable to the theory, than the present practice of the constitution) if means could be found to compel such men to do their duty (in essentials at least) when they are in

parliament. Now, Sir, I am convinced that, if shortening the duration of parliaments (which in effect is keeping the representative under the rod of the constituent) be not made the basis of our new parliamentary jurisprudence, other checks or improvements signify nothing. On the contrary, if this be made the foundation, other measures may come in aid, and, as auxiliaries, be of considerable advantage. Lord Chatham's project, for instance, of increasing the number of Knights of Shires, appears to me admirable, and the moment we have obtained a triennial parliament, it ought to be tried. As to cutting away the rotten boroughs, I am as much offended as any man at seeing so many of them under the direct influence of the crown, or at the disposal of private persons, yet I own I have both doubts and apprehensions, in regard to the remedy you propose. I shall be charged, perhaps, with an unusual want of political intrepidity, when I honestly confess to you, that I am startled at the idea of so extensive an amputation. In the first place, I question the power *de jure* of the legislature to disfranchise a number of boroughs upon the general ground of improving the constitution. There cannot be a doctrine more fatal to the liberty and property we are contending for, than that which confounds the idea of a *supreme* and an *arbitrary*

legislature. I need not point out to you, the fatal purposes to which it has been, and may be applied. If we are sincere in the political creed we profess, there are many things which we ought to affirm, cannot be done by King, Lords, and Commons. Among these I reckon the disfranchising a borough with a general view to improvement. I consider it as equivalent to robbing the parties concerned, of their freehold, of their birthright. I say, that although this birthright may be forfeited, or the exercise of it suspended in particular cases, it cannot be taken away by a general law, for any real or pretended purpose of improving the constitution. I believe there is no power in this country to make such a law. Supposing the attempt made, I am persuaded you cannot mean that either King or Lords should take an active part in it. A bill, which only touches the representation of the people, must originate in the House of Commons, in the formation and mode of passing it. The exclusive right of the Commons must be asserted as scrupulously as in the case of a Money Bill. Now, Sir, I should be glad to know by what kind of reasoning it can be proved, that there is a power vested in the representative to destroy his immediate constituent: from whence could he possibly derive it? A courtier, I know, will be ready enough to maintain the

affirmative. The doctrine suits him exactly, because it gives an unlimited operation to the influence of the crown. But we, Mr. Wilkes, must hold a different language. It is no answer to me to say, that the bill, when it passes the House of Commons, is the act of the majority, and not of the representatives of the particular boroughs concerned. If the majority can disfranchise ten boroughs, why not twenty? Why not the whole kingdom? Why should not they make their own seats in parliament for life? When the Septennial Act passed, the legislature did what apparently and palpably they had no power to do; but they did more than people in general were aware of; they disfranchised the whole kingdom for four years. For argument's sake, I will now suppose, that the expediency of the measure, and the power of parliament, were unquestionable. Still you will find an insurmountable difficulty in the execution. When all your instruments of amputation are prepared—when the unhappy patient lies bound at your feet, without the possibility of resistance, by what infallible rule will you direct the operation? When you propose to cut away the rotten parts, can you tell us what parts are perfectly sound? Are there any certain limits, in fact or theory, to inform you at what point you must stop—at what point the mortification ends? To a man so

capable of observation and reflection as you are, it is unnecessary to say all that might be said upon the subject. Besides that I approve highly of Lord Chatham's idea of "infusing a portion of new health into the constitution to enable it to bear its infirmities," (a brilliant expression, and full of intrinsic wisdom,) other reasons concur in persuading me to adopt it. I have no objection to paying him such compliments as carry a condition with them, and either bind him firmly to the cause, or become the bitterest reproach to him if he deserts it. Of this last I have not the most distant suspicion. There is another man, indeed, with whose conduct I am not so completely satisfied. Yet even *he*, I think, has not resolution enough to do any thing flagrantly impudent in the face of his country. At the same time that I think it good policy to pay those compliments to Lord Chatham, which, in truth, he has nobly deserved, I should be glad to mortify those contemptible creatures, who call themselves noblemen, whose worthless importance depends entirely upon their influence over boroughs, which cannot be safely diminished, but by increasing the power of the counties at large. Among these men, I cannot but distinguish the meanest of the human species, the whole race of the *Conways*. I have but one word to add,—I would

not give representatives to those great trading towns, which have none at present. If the merchant and the manufacturer must be *really* represented, let them become freeholders by their industry, and let the representation of the county be increased. You will find the interruption of business in those towns, by the triennial riot and cabals of an election, too dear a price for the nugatory privilege of sending members to parliament.

The remaining articles will not require a long discussion;—of the fourth and fifth I have spoken already.

Article 6. The measures recommended in the sixth are unexceptionable. My only doubt is, how can an act *apparently* done by the House of Commons be fixed, by sufficient legal evidence, upon the Duke of Grafton or Lord North, of whose guilt I am nevertheless completely satisfied. As for Lord Weymouth and Lord Barrington, their own letters are a sufficient ground of impeachment.

Article 7. The seventh article is also very proper and necessary. The impeachment of Lord Mansfield, upon his own paper, is indispensable. Yet suffer me to guard you against the seducing idea of concurring in any vote, or encouraging any bill, which may pretend to ascertain, while in reality it limits, the constitu-

tional power of juries. I would have their right, to return a general verdict in all cases whatsoever, considered as a part of the constitution, fundamental, sacred, and no more questionable by the legislature, than whether the government of the country shall be by King, Lords, and Commons. Upon this point, an Enacting Bill would be pernicious; a Declaratory Bill, to say the best of it, useless.

Article 8. I think the eighth article would be more properly expressed thus: *You shall grant no money, unless for services known to, and approved of, by Parliament.* In general the supplies are appropriated, and cannot easily be misapplied. The House of Commons are indeed too ready in granting large sums under the head of *extraordinaries incurred, and not provided for.* But the accounts lie before them;—it is their own fault if they do not examine them. The manner in which the late debt upon the civil list was pretended to be incurred, and really paid, demands a particular examination. Never was there a more impudent outrage offered to a patient people.

Article 9. The ninth is indispensable; but I think the matter of it rather fit for instruction, than for the declaration you have in view. I am very apprehensive of clogging the declaration, and making it too long.

Articles 10 and 11. In the tenth and eleventh you are very civil to Ireland and America; and if you mean nothing but ostentation, it may possibly answer your purpose. Your care of Ireland is much to be commended. But, I think, in good policy, you may as well complete a reformation at home, before you attempt to carry your improvements to such a distance. Clearing the fountain is the best and shortest way to purify the stream. As to taxing the Americans by their own representatives, I confess I do not perfectly understand you. If you propose that, in the article of taxation, they should hereafter be left to the authority of their respective assemblies, I must own I think you had no business to revive a question which should, and probably would, have lain dormant for ever. If you mean that the Americans should be authorized to send their representatives to the British parliament, I shall be contented with referring you to what Mr. Burke has said upon this subject, and will not venture to add any thing of my own, for fear of discovering an offensive disregard of your opinion. Since the repeal of the Stamp Act, I know of no Acts tending to tax the Americans, except that which creates the tea duty; and even that can hardly be called *internal*. Yet it ought to be repealed, as an impolitic Act, not as an oppressive one. It pre-

serves the contention between the mother country and the colonies, when every thing worth contending for is in reality given up. When this Act is repealed, I presume you will turn your thoughts to the postage of letters; a tax imposed by authority of parliament, and levied in the very heart of the colonies. I am not sufficiently informed upon the subject of that excise, which you say is substituted in North America to the laws of customs, to deliver such an opinion upon it as I would abide by. Yet I can easily comprehend, that admitting the necessity of raising a revenue for the support of government there, any other revenue laws, but those of excise, would be nugatory in such a country as America. I say this with great diffidence as to the point in question, and with a positive protest against any conclusion from America to Great Britain.

If these observations shall appear to deserve the attention of the Society, it is for *them* to consider what use may be made of them. I know how difficult and irksome it is to tread back the steps we have taken; yet, if any part of what I have submitted to you carries reason and conviction with it, I hope that no false shame will influence our friends at the London Tavern.

I do not deny that I expect my opinions upon these points should have some degree of

weight with you. I have served Mr. Wilkes, and am still capable of serving him. I have faithfully served the public, without the possibility of a personal advantage. As JUNIUS, I can never expect to be rewarded.—The secret is too important to be committed to any great man's discretion. If views of interest or ambition could tempt me to betray my own secret, how could I flatter myself that the man I trusted would not act upon the same principles, and sacrifice me at once to the King's curiosity and resentment? Speaking therefore as a disinterested man, I have a claim to your attention. Let my opinions be fairly examined.

JUNIUS.

P.S. As you will probably never hear from me again, I will not omit this opportunity of observing to you, that I am not properly supported in the newspapers. One would think that all the fools were of the other side of the question. As to myself it is of little moment. I can brush away the swarming insects whenever I think proper. But it is bad policy to let it appear, in any instance, that we have not numbers as well as justice of our side. I wish you would contrive that the receipt of this letter and my last, might be barely acknowledged by a hint in the Public Advertiser.

N^o 67.

Prince's Court, Monday, Sept. 9.

MR. WILKES had the honour of receiving from the same gentleman two excellent letters on important subjects, one dated Aug. 21st, the other Sept. 7th. He begs the favour of the author to prescribe the mode of Mr. Wilkes's communicating his answer¹.

N^o 68.

10 Sept. 1771.

You may intrust Woodfall with a letter for me. Leave the rest to his management.

I expect that you will not enter into any explanations with him whatsoever².

¹ This note was inserted in the Public Advertiser on the day following its date.

² Mr. Wilkes has written on it, "Received by the Penny Post."

N^o 69.

TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

Sept. 12, 1771.

I do not mean to indulge the impertinent curiosity of finding out the most important secret of our times, the author of JUNIUS. I will not attempt with profane hands to tear the sacred veil of the sanctuary; I am disposed with the inhabitants of Attica, to erect *an altar to the unknown god* of our political idolatry, and will be content to worship him in clouds and darkness.

This very circumstance, however, deeply embarrasses me. The first letter with which I was honoured by JUNIUS, called for a thousand anecdotes of Crosby, Sawbridge, and Townshend, too tedious, too minute, to throw upon paper, which yet must be acted upon, and as he well knows, mark the character of men. JUNIUS has in my idea too favourable sentiments of Sawbridge. I allow him honest, but think he has more mulishness than understanding, more understanding than candour. He is become the absolute dupe of Malagrida's gang. He has declared, that if he was chosen mayor this year, he would not serve the office, but fine, because

Townshend ought to be mayor. Such a declaration is certain, and in my opinion it borders on insanity. To me Sawbridge complained the last year that his sheriffalty passed in a continual secret cabal of Beckford, Townshend and Horne, without the communication of any thing to him till the moment of execution. Sawbridge has openly acted against us. Our troops will not be brought at present to fight his battles. Mrs. Macauley has warmly espoused the common cause, and severely condemns her brother. Any overtures to Sawbridge, I believe, would have been rejected, perhaps treated with contempt, by not the best bred man in the island. How could I begin a negotiation when I was already pledged to Crosby, who has fed himself with the hope of that and the membership, by which I overcame his natural timidity? JUNIUS sees the confidence I place in him. Could there be a prospect of any cordiality between Sawbridge and the popular party, at least so soon as his mayoralty? I should fear the Mansion House would be besieged, and taken by the banditti of the Shelburnes. But what I am sure will be decisive to JUNIUS, I was engaged to Crosby before I received the letter of Aug. 21, and I have not since found in him the least inclination to yield the favourite point. The membership of the city is a security to the public for his steadiness

in the cause. Surely then it would have been imprudent to have wished a change. My duty to the people only makes me form a wish for Crosby. To make Crosby mayor, it is necessary to return to the court of aldermen another man so obnoxious that it is impossible for them to elect him. Bridgen I take to be this man. While he presided in the city he treated them with insolence, was exceedingly rude and scurrilous to them personally, starved them at the few entertainments he gave, and pocketed the city cash. As he has always voted on the popular side, we are justified to the livery in the recommendation of him, and the rest will be guessed. Crosby will probably be the *locum tenens* of Bridgen, if Bridgen is elected. I wrote the letter on this subject in the Public Advertiser of Sept. 5. The argument there is specious, although my private opinion is, the House of Commons will not again fall into that snare. Into another I am satisfied they will. The House of Lords too, will, I think, furnish a most interesting scene, in consequence of the powers they usurp, and the sheriff means the attack. I wish this great business, as I have projected it, could be unravelled in a letter or two to JUNIUS, but the detail is too long and intricate. How greatly is it to be lamented that the few real friends of the public have so little commu-

nication of counsels, so few and only distant means of a reserved intercourse!

I have no where met with more excellent and abundant political matter than in the letter of JUNIUS respecting the Bill of Rights. He ought to know from me, that the American Dr. Lee (the Gazetteer's Junius Americanus) was the author of the too long Preamble, Articles, &c. They were, indeed, submitted to me on the morning of the day on which they passed, but I made few corrections. I disliked the extreme *verbiage* of every part, and wished the whole put again on the anvil. Sir Joseph Mawbey and I were of opinion to adjourn the business for a reconsideration, but the majority of the members were too impatient to have something go forth in their names to the public. It would have been highly imprudent in Sir Joseph or me to thwart them in so favourite a point, and the substance I indeed greatly approve. At all times I hate taking in other people's foul linen to wash. The Society of the Bill of Rights have been called my committee, and it has been said that they were governed entirely by me. This has spread a jealousy even among my friends. I was therefore necessitated to act the most cautious and prudent part. You cannot always do all the good you wish, and you are sometimes reduced to the necessity of yielding in a particular moment to

conciliate the doubtful, the peevish, or the refractory. JUNIUS may be assured that I will warmly recommend the formation of constitutional clubs in several parts of the kingdom. I am satisfied that nothing would more alarm the ministry. I agree that the shortening the duration of parliaments is the first and most important of all considerations, without which all the rest would be nugatory; but I am unhappy to differ with JUNIUS in so essential a point as that of triennial parliaments. They are inadequate to the cure of destroying dependence in the members on the crown. They only lessen, not root out, corruption, and only reduce the purchase money for an annuity of three instead of seven years. I have a thousand arguments against triennial and in favour of annual parliaments. The question was fairly agitated at the London Tavern, and several of your friends owned that they were convinced. The subject is too copious for a letter. I hope to read JUNIUS's mature and deliberate thoughts on this subject. I own that in the House of Commons sound policy would rather favour triennial parliaments as the necessary road to annual, but the constitutional question is different.

I am sorry likewise to differ with JUNIUS as to the power *de jure* of the legislature to disfranchise any boroughs. How originated the right,

and why was it granted? Old Sarum and Gatton, for instance, were populous places, when the right of representation was first given them. They are now desolate, and therefore in every thing should return to their former state. A barren mountain or a single farm-house can have no representation in parliament. I exceedingly approve Lord Chatham's idea of increasing the number of Knights of Shires. If parliaments are not annual, I should not disapprove of a third part of the legislative body going out every year by ballot, and of consequence an annual re-election in part.

I am so much harassed with business at present, that I have not time to mention many particulars of importance, and these three days I have had the shivering fits of a slow lurking fever, a strange disorder for Wilkes, which makes writing painful to me. I could plunge the patriot dagger in the heart of the tyrant of my country, but my hand would now tremble in doing it. In general I enjoy settled confirmed health, to which I have for some years paid great attention, chiefly from public views.

I am satisfied that JUNIUS now means me well, and I wish to merit more than his regard, his friendship. He has poured balm into my wounds, the deepest of which I sigh, when I recollect, were made by that now friendly hand.

I am always ready to kiss his rod, but I hope its destination is changed, and that it will never again fall as heavy upon me as towards the conclusion of the year 1769, when Thurlow said sneeringly, the government prosecuted JUNIUS out of compliment to Wilkes. I warmly wish JUNIUS my friend. As a public man I think myself secure of his support, for I will only depend on popular favour, and pursue only the true constitutional points of liberty. As a private person I figure to myself that JUNIUS is as amiable in the private as he is great in the public walk of life. I now live very much at home, happy in the elegant society of a sensible daughter, whom JUNIUS has noticed in the most obliging manner.

I have not had a moment's conversation with Woodfall on the subject of our correspondence, nor did I mean to mention it to him. All he can guess, will be from the following card, which I shall send by my servant with this letter. "Mr. Wilkes presents his compliments to Mr. Woodfall, and desires him to direct and forward the enclosed to JUNIUS." After the first letter of JUNIUS to me, I did not go to Woodfall to pry into a secret I had no right to know. The letter itself bore the stamp of Jove. I was neither doubting nor impertinent. I wish to comply with every direction of JUNIUS, to profit

by his hints, and to have the permission of writing to him on any important occasion. I desire to assure him, that in all great public concerns, I am perfectly free from every personality either of dislike or affection. The Stoic apathy is then really mine.

Lord Chatham said to me ten years ago, “ * * * * * is the falsest hypocrite in Europe.” I must hate the man as much as even JUNIUS can, for through this whole reign almost it has been * * * * * *versus Wilkes*. This conduct will probably make it *Wilkes versus* * * * * *. JUNIUS must imagine that no man in the island feels what he writes on that occasion more than I do.

This letter is an emanation of the heart, not an effort of the head. It claims attention from the honest zeal and sincerity of the writer, whose affection for his country will end only with his life.

JOHN WILKES.

N^o 70.

TO JOHN WILKES, ESQ¹.

SIR,

London, 18th September, 1771.

YOUR letter of the 12th instant, was carefully conveyed to me. I am much flattered,

¹ Written on by him, “ Received Monday afternoon, September 18, 1771.”

as you politely intended I should be, with the worship you are pleased to pay to the Unknown God of politics. I find I am treated as other Gods usually are by their votaries, with sacrifice and ceremony in abundance, and very little obedience. The profession of your faith is unexceptionable; but I am a modest deity, and should be full as well satisfied with good works and morality.

There is a rule in business that would save much time if it were generally adopted. *A question once decided is no longer a subject of argument.* You have taken your resolution about the mayoralty. What I have now to say is not meant to alter it, but, in perfect good humour, to guard you against some inconveniences, which may attend the execution. It is your own affair, and though I still think you have chosen injudiciously, both for yourself and for the public, I have no right to find fault or to tease you with reflections, which cannot divert you from your purpose.

I cannot comprehend the reason of Mr. Crosby's eagerness to be Lord Mayor, unless he proposes to disgrace the office and himself by pocketing the salary. In that case he will create a disgust among the citizens, of which you and your party will feel the bad effects, and as for himself he may bid adieu to all hopes of

being returned for the city. That he should live with unusual splendour is essentially your interest and his own; and even then I do not perceive that his merits are so distinguished as to intitle him to a double reward. Of the dignity or authority of a *Locum tenens*, I know nothing; nor can I conceive what credit Mr. Crosby is likely to derive from representing Mr. Bridgen. But suppose Bridgen should be lord mayor, and should keep his word in appointing Crosby his lieutenant, I should be glad to know, who is to support the expense and dignity of the office? It may suit such a fellow as Bridgen to shut up the Mansion-house, but I promise you his œconomy will be of no service to Mr. Wilkes. If you make him mayor, you will be made answerable for his conduct; and if he and Crosby be returned, you may depend upon it the court of aldermen will choose him.

With regard to Mr. Sawbridge, since I cannot prevail with you to lay the foundation of a closer union between you, by any positive sacrifice in his favour, at least let me entreat you to observe a moderate and guarded conduct towards him. I should be much concerned to see his character traduced, or his person insulted. He is *not* a dupe to any set of men whatsoever, nor do I think he has taken any violent or decided part against you.—Yet to be excluded from

those honours which are the only rewards he pretends to, and to which he is so justly entitled, and to see them bestowed upon such men as *Crosby* and *Bridgen*, is enough to excite and justify his resentment. All this, Sir, is matter of convenience, which I hope you will consider. There is another point, upon which I must be much more serious and earnest with you. You seem to have no anxiety or apprehension but lest the friends of Lord Shelburne should get possession of the Mansion-house. In my opinion they have no chance of success whatsoever. The real danger is from the interest of government; from Harley, and the Tories.—If while you are employed in counteracting Mr. Townshend, a ministerial alderman should be returned, you will have ruined the cause.—You will have ruined yourself, and for ever. To say that JUNIUS could never forgive you is nothing';—you could never forgive yourself.—JUNIUS from that moment will be compelled to consider you as a man who has sacrificed the public to views which were every way unworthy of you. If then, upon a fair canvass of the livery, you should see a probability that *Bridgen* may not be returned, let that point be given up at once, and let *Sawbridge* be returned with *Crosby*;—a more likely

¹ See note to Private Letters, No. 56, ante p. *250.

way in *my* judgment to make *Crosby* lord mayor.

Nothing can do you greater honour, nor be of greater benefit to the community, than your intended attack upon the unconstitutional powers assumed by the House of Lords. You have my warmest applause; and if I can assist, command my assistance. The arbitrary power of fine and imprisonment, assumed by these men, would be a disgrace to any form of legal government not purely *aristocratical*.—Directly, it invades the laws, indirectly, it saps the constitution. Naturally phlegmatic, these questions warm me.—I envy you the laurels you will acquire.—Banish the thought that JUNIUS can make a dishonourable or an imprudent use of the confidence you repose in him. When you have leisure, communicate your plan to me, that I may have time to examine it, and to consider what part I can act with the greatest advantage to the cause. The constitutional argument is obvious. I wish you to point out to me where you think the force of the *formal legal* argument lies. In pursuing such inquiries I lie under a singular disadvantage. Not venturing to consult those who are qualified to inform me, I am forced to collect every thing from books or common conversation. The pains I took with that paper upon privilege, were greater than I can express to you. Yet

after I had blinded myself with poring over journals, debates, and parliamentary history, I was at last obliged to hazard a bold assertion, which I am now convinced is true (as I really then thought it), because it has not been disproved or disputed.—There is this material difference upon the face of the two questions. We can clearly shew a time when the lower house had not an unlimited power of commitment for breach of privilege. Whereas I fear we shall not have the same advantage over the House of Lords. It is not that precedents have any weight with me in opposition to principles ; but I know they weigh with the multitude.

My opinion of the several articles of the proposed declaration remains unaltered. I cannot pretend to answer those arguments in favour of annual parliaments, by which you say the friends of JUNIUS were convinced. The question is not what is best in theory (for there I should undoubtedly agree with you), but what is most expedient in practice. You labour to carry the constitution to a point of perfection which it can never reach to, or at which it cannot long be stationary. In this idea I think I see the mistake of a speculative man, who is either not conversant with the world, or not sufficiently persuaded of the necessity of taking things *as they are*. The objection drawn from the pur-

chase of an annuity for *three* years instead of *seven*, is defective, because it applies in the same proportion to an annuity for one year. This is not the question. The point is to keep the representative as much under the check and controul of the constituent, as can be done, consistently with other great and essential objects. But without entering farther into the debate, I would advise, that this part of the declaration be expressed in general terms; viz. to shorten the duration of parliaments. This mediating expedient will, for the present, take in both opinions, and leave open the *quantum* of time to a future discussion.

In answer to a general argument, by which the uncontrollable right of the people to form the third part of the legislature is defended, you urge against me two gross cases, which undoubtedly call for correction. These cases, you may believe, did not escape me, and by the bye, admit of a particular answer. But it is not treating me fairly to oppose general principles with particular abuses. It is not in human policy to form an institution from which no possible inconvenience shall arise. I did not pretend to deliver a doctrine, to which there could be no possible objection. We are to chuse between better and worse. Let us come fairly to the point.—Whether is it safer to deny the legislature a power of disfranchising all the electors of

a borough ; (which, if denied, entails a number of rotten boroughs upon the constitution)—or to *admit* the power, and so leave it with the legislature to disfranchise *ad arbitrium* every borough and county in the kingdom. If you deny the consequence, it will be incumbent upon you to prove by *positive* reasoning that a power which holds in the case of Aylesbury or New Shoreham, *does not* hold in the case of York, London, or Middlesex. To this question I desire a direct answer ; and when we have fixed our principles we may regularly descend to the detail. The case of Gatton and Old Sarum do not embarrass me. Their right to return members to parliament has neither fact nor theory to support it.—“ They have, *bonâ fide*, no electors.” Consequently there is no man to be dispossessed of his freehold. No man to be disfranchised of his right of election. At the worst, supposing the annihilation of these pretended boroughs could no way be reconciled to my own principles, I shall only say, give me a healthy, vigorous constitution, and I shall hardly consult my looking-glass to discover a blemish upon my skin.

You ask me, from whence did the right originate, and for what purpose was it granted? I do not see the tendency of these questions, but I answer them without scruple : ‘ In general it arose from the King’s writs, and it was granted

with a view to balance the power of the nobility, and to obtain aids from the people.'—But without looking back to an obscure antiquity, from which no certain information can be collected, you will find that the laws of England have much greater regard to possession (of a certain length) than to any other title whatsoever; and that in every kind of property which savours of the *reality* this doctrine is most wisely the basis of our English jurisprudence. Though I use the terms of art, do not injure me so much as to suspect I am a lawyer.—I had as lief be a Scotchman.—It is the encouragement given to disputes about titles, which has supported that iniquitous profession at the expense of the community.—As to this whole argument about rotten boroughs, if I seem zealous in supporting my opinion, it is not from a conception that the constitution cannot possibly be relieved from them—I mean only to reconcile you to an evil which cannot safely be removed.

Now, Mr. Wilkes, I shall deal very plainly with you. The subject of my first letter was private and personal, and I am content it should be forgotten. Your letter to *me* is also sacred. But my second letter is of public import, and must not be suppressed. I did not mean that it should be buried in Prince's Court. It would be unfair to embarrass you with a new question,

while your city election is depending. But if I perceive that within a reasonable time after that business is concluded, no steps are taken with the Bill of Rights to form a new, short, and rational declaration (whether by laying my letter before the society, or by any other mode that you shall think adviseable), I shall hold myself obliged, by a duty paramount to all other considerations, to institute an amicable suit against the society before the tribunal of the public. Without asperity, without petulance or disrespect, I propose to publish the second letter, and to answer or submit to argument. The necessity of taking this step will indeed give me pain, for I well know that differences between the advocates are of no service to the cause. But the lives of the best of us are spent in choosing between evils.—As to you, Sir, you may as well take the trouble of directing that society, since whatever they do is placed to your account.

The domestic society you speak of is much to be envied. I fancy I should like it still better than you do. I too am no enemy to good fellowship, and have often cursed that canting parson for wishing to deny you your claret. It is for *him*, and men like *him*, to beware of intoxication. Though I do not place the little pleasures of life in competition with the glorious business

of instructing and directing the people, yet I see no reason why a wise man may not unite the public virtues of Cato, with the indulgence of Epicurus.

Continue careful of your health. Your head is too useful to be spared, and your hand may be wanted. Think no more of what is past. You did not then stand so well in my opinion; and it was necessary to the plan of that letter to rate you lower than you deserved. The wound is curable, and the scar shall be no disgrace to you.

I willingly accept of as much of your friendship as you can impart, to a man whom you will assuredly never know. Besides every personal consideration, if I were known, I could no longer be an useful servant to the public. At present there is something oracular in the delivery of my opinions. I speak from a recess which no human curiosity can penetrate, and darkness, we are told, is one source of the sublime.—The mystery of JUNIUS increases his importance.

JUNIUS.

N^o 71.

Prince's Court, Thursday, Sept. 19.

MR. WILKES thanks Mr. Woodfall for the care of the former letter, and desires him to transmit the inclosed to JUNIUS.

TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

Sept. 19, 1771.

I HAD last night the honour of your letter of yesterday's date. I am just going to the Common Hall, but first take up the pen to thank you for the kindness you express to me, and to say that the Bill of Rights meet next Tuesday. I thought it necessary not to lose a moment in giving you this information, that whatever you judge proper may be submitted to that society as early as possible. JUNIUS may command me in every thing. When he says "my second letter is of public import, and must not be suppressed. I did not mean that it should be buried in Prince's Court,"—does he wish it should be communicated to the society, and in what manner? The beginning of the second letter refers to a first letter, and some other expressions may be improper for the knowledge of the society. I wait JUNIUS's directions. I beg his free sentiments on all occasions. I mean next week to state a variety of particulars for his consideration and in answer to his letter. I had now only a moment to mention a point of business and a feeling of gratitude.

JOHN WILKES.

N^o 72.

SIR,

21st September, 1771¹.

SINCE you are so obliging as to say, you will be guided by my opinion as to the manner of laying my sentiments before the Bill of Rights, I see no reason why the whole of the second letter may not be read there next Tuesday, except the postscript, which has no connection with the rest, and the word ridiculous, which may naturally give offence ;—as I mean to persuade and soften, not irritate or offend. Let that word be expunged. The prefatory part you may leave or not as you think proper. You are not bound to satisfy any man's curiosity upon a *private* matter, and upon my silence you may, I believe, depend entirely. As to other passages I have no favour or affection, so let all go. It should be copied over in a better hand.

If any objections are raised, which are answered in my third letter, you will, I am sure, answer for me, so far forth, *ore tenus*.

JUNIUS.

By all means let it be copied.—This manuscript is for private use only.

¹ Written on it by Mr. Wilkes, "Received Sept. 21, 1771."

N^o 73.

SIR,

Monday¹.

WHEN I wrote to you on Saturday, it did not occur to me that your own advertisement had already informed the public of your receiving two letters; your omitting the preamble to the second letter would therefore be to no purpose.

In my opinion you should not wish to decline the appearance of being particularly addressed in that letter. It is calculated to give you dignity with the public. There is more in it than perhaps you are aware of. Depend upon it, the perpetual union of *Wilkes* and *mob* does you no service. Not but that I love and esteem the mob.—It is your interest to keep up dignity and gravity besides. I would not make myself cheap by walking the streets so much as you do. *Verbum sat.*

 N^o 74.

TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

Wednesday, Sept. 25.

YESTERDAY I attended the meeting of the Society of the Bill of Rights, and laid before them the letter, which I had the honour of re-

¹ Written on it by Mr. Wilkes, "Received Sept. 23, 1771."

ceiving from you on the 7th of September. The few lines of the preamble I omitted, the word *ridiculous*, according to your directions, and a very few more lines towards the conclusion. All the rest was a faithful transcript, the exact *tenor*¹. The season of the year occasioned the meeting to be ill attended. Only eleven members were present. The following resolution passed unanimously: "That Mr. Wilkes be desired to transmit to JUNIUS the thanks of the Society for his letter, and to assure him, that it was received with all the respect due to his distinguished character and abilities." Soon after my fever obliged me to return home, and I have not heard of any thing further being done; but Mr. Lee told me he thought the letter capable of a full answer, which he meant on a future day, to submit to the Society, and would previously communicate to me. The letter is left

¹ When Mr. Wilkes was prosecuted in the year 1764, for publishing the North Briton, No. 45, Lord Mansfield issued an order for Mr. Wilkes's attorney or solicitor to attend at his house, on the morning previous to the trial, "to shew cause why the information in this cause should not be amended by striking out the word *PURPORT*, in the several places where it is mentioned in the said information, (except in the first place) and inserting, instead thereof, the word *TENOR*." The Chief Justice was accused of having suggested this alteration, and several objections were taken to it, which, in argument, were overruled by the Court.

in the hands of Mr. Reynolds, who has the care of the other papers of the Society, with directions to permit every member to peruse, and even transcribe it, on the promise of non-publication. Some particular expressions appeared rather too harsh and grating to the ears of some of the members.

Surely, Sir, nothing in the advertisement I inserted in the Public Advertiser, could lead to the idea of the two letters I mentioned coming from JUNIUS. I intreat him to peruse once more, that guarded advertisement. I hope that Mr. Bull's, and my address of Saturday, was approved where I most desire it should be thought of favourably. I know it made our enemies wince in the most tender part.

I am too ill to-day to add more.

JOHN WILKES.

N^o 75.

SIR,

16th October, 1771.

I CANNOT help expressing to you my thanks and approbation of your letter of this day¹.

¹ This was a long address from Mr. Wilkes to the livery of London, in his own defence, from an attack which had been made upon him by Mr. Alderman Townshend. We shall extract such parts of it as are more particularly alluded to by JUNIUS in this letter.

I think it proper, manly, and to the purpose. In these altercations nothing can be more useful, than to preserve dignity and *sang froid*—*fortiter in re, suaviter in modo*, increases both the force and the severity. Your conduct to Mr. Sawbridge is every thing I could wish'. Be assured, you will find it both honourable and judicious. Had it been adopted a little sooner, you might have returned him and Crosby, and taken the whole merit of it to yourself. If I am truly informed of Mr. S.'s behaviour on the hustings, I must confess it does not satisfy me. But perseverance, management, and determined good humour, will set every thing right, and, in the end, break the heart of Mr. Horne. Nothing can be more true than what you say about *great men*². They are indeed a worthless, pitiful race.

¹ "Mr. Townshend asks, 'Does he (Mr. Wilkes) allow one man in the court of aldermen to be worthy of your confidence, except himself and Mr. Crosby?' Let me state the question about Mr. Sawbridge. Mr. Wilkes has declared under his hand, in all the public papers, 'No man can honour Mr. Sawbridge more than I do, for *every public and private virtue*, which constitutes a *great and amiable character*.' Was this praise cold or penurious? Was it not deserving a better return than it seems to have found? Is not such a character *worthy of your confidence*?" Mr. Wilkes's letter of Oct. 15.

² "Mr. Morris told us at the Bill of Rights, that when he pressed Mr. Townshend about the affair of the printers, his answer was, that he did not find he should be supported by any *great man*, and otherwise it would be *imprudent*, therefore did

Chatham has gallantly thrown away the scabbard, and never flinched. From that moment I began to like him.

I see we do not agree about the strict right of pressing¹. If you are as sincere as I am,

did not chuse to act in it. The prudent Mr. Townshend may wait the consent of *great men*. I will on a national call follow instantly the line of my duty, regardless of their applause or censure. Public spirit and virtue are seldom in the company of his Lordship or his Grace. [The case of the printers is detailed in note to Miscellaneous Letters, No. xcii. Vol. III. p. 345.]

* * * * *

“Has not, by the conduct of your Magistrates, a complete victory been gained over the usurped powers both of the Crown and the House of Commons? The two questions had been frequently agitated among the friends of liberty, even while I remained at the King’s Bench. When the city and the nation had clearly decided in favour of the cause, the *great men* followed, as they generally do, joined the public cry, and thronged to the Tower to pay their tardy tribute of praise to the persecuted patriots. The business had been completed without their assistance. In all such cases I am persuaded we shall find, that the people will be obliged to do their own business; but if it succeeds, they may be sure of the concurrence and applause of the *great*, and their even entering the most loathsome prisons or dungeons—on a short visit of parade.” Mr. Wilkes’s letter of Oct. 15.

“As a good Englishman and citizen, I thanked my brethren Sawbridge and Oliver for having so nobly discharged their duty as aldermen in the business of Press Warrants, on which I expatiated as the most cruel species of General Warrants.” Id.

we shall not quarrel about a difference of opinion. I shall say a few words to-morrow on this subject, under the signature of Philo-Junius.—The letters under that name have been hastily drawn up, but the principles are tenable. I thought your letter about the military very proper and well drawn'.

JUNIUS.

' Shortly previous to Messrs. Wilkes and Bull entering upon their office of sheriffs of London, they addressed a short letter to the livery, containing a paragraph respecting the military, of which the following is a copy :—

“ We have observed with the deepest concern, that a military force has, on several late occasions, been employed by an unprincipled administration, under the pretence of assisting the civil power in carrying the sentence of the laws into execution. The conduct of the present sheriffs, in the remarkable case of the two unhappy men who suffered in July, near Bethnal Green, was truly patriotic. We are determined to follow so meritorious an example, and as that melancholy part of our office will commence in a very few days, we take this opportunity of declaring, that as the constitution has entrusted us with the whole power of the county, we will not, during our sheriffalty, suffer any part of the army to interfere, or even to attend, as on many former occasions, on the pretence of aiding or assisting the civil magistrate. This resolution we declare to the public, and to administration, to prevent during our continuance in office, the sending of any detachments from the regular forces on such a service, and the possibility of all future alarming disputes. The civil power of this country we are sure is able to support itself and a good government. The magistrate, with the assistance of those in his jurisdiction, is by experience known to be strong enough
to

N° 76.

SIR,

Oct. 17, 1771.

I AM not yet recovered, and to-day have been harassed with complaints against the greatest villains out of hell, the bailiffs; but so very polite and friendly a letter as JUNIUS's of yesterday demands my earliest and warmest acknowledgments. I only take up the pen to say that I think myself happy in his approbation, that a line of applause from him gives the same brisk circulation to my spirits, as a kiss from Chloe, and that I mean soon to communicate to him a project of importance.—I will skirmish with the great almost every day in some way or other. Does JUNIUS approve the following ma-

to enforce all legal commands, without the aid of a standing army. Where that is not the case, a nation must sink into an absolute military government, and every thing valuable to the subject be at the mercy of the soldiery and their commander. We leave to our brave countrymen of the army the glory of conquering our foreign enemies. We pledge ourselves to the public for the faithful and exact discharge of our duty in every emergency without their assistance. We desire to save them a service we know they detest, and we take on ourselves the painful task of those unpleasing scenes, which our office calls upon us to superintend. The laws of our country shall, in all instances during our sheriffalty, be solely enforced by the authority and vigour of the civil magistrate."

nœuvre, instead of going in a gingerbread chariot to yawn through a dull sermon at St. Paul's.

Old Bailey, Oct. 24th, 1771.

“MR. Sheriff Wilkes presents his duty to the Lord Mayor, and asks his Lordship's leave to prefer the real service of his country to-morrow in the administration of justice here, to the vain parade on the anniversary of the accession of a prince, under whose inauspicious government an universal discontent prevails among the people, and who still leaves the most intolerable grievances of his subjects unredressed.”—This card to be published at length. Will JUNIUS suggest any alteration or addition? It is a bold step.—The sessions will not be ended on the 25th, and it is the duty of the sheriff to attend. I will follow all your hints about Mr. Sawbridge.—I am sorry to differ so much from you, about Press Warrants. I own that I have warmly gone through that opposition upon the clear conviction that every argument alledged for the legality of the Press Warrant would do equally well for ship money. I believe JUNIUS as sincere as myself, I will therefore be so far from quarrelling with him for any difference of opinion, that when I find we disagree I will act with double caution, and some distrust of the certainty of my being clearly in the right.

I hope the Sheriff's letter to Mr. Akerman has your approbation. Does JUNIUS wish for any dinner or ball tickets for the lord mayor's day, for himself, or friends, or a favourite, or Junia? The day will be worth observation. Whether *cretâ an carbone notandus*, I do not know; but *the people, Sir, the people are the sight*. How happy should I be to see my Portia here dance a graceful minuet with JUNIUS BRUTUS! but JUNIUS is inexorable and I submit. I would send your tickets to Woodfall.

To-morrow I go with the Lord Mayor and my brother sheriff to Rochester to take up our freedoms. We return on Sunday night.

I entreat of JUNIUS to favour me with every idea, which occurs to him for the common cause, in every particular relative to my conduct. He shall find me no less grateful than ductile.

JOHN WILKES.

N^o 77.

London, 21 October, 1771.

MANY thanks for your obliging offer; —but alas! my age and figure would do but little credit to my partner.—I acknowledge the relation between Cato and Portia, but in truth I see no connexion between JUNIUS and a minuet.

You shall have my opinion whenever you think proper to ask it, freely, honestly, and heartily.—If I were only a party man I should naturally concur in any enterprize, likely to create a bustle without risque or trouble to myself. But I love the cause independent of persons, and I wish well to Mr. Wilkes independent of the cause. Feeling, as I really do, for others where my own safety is provided for, the danger to which I expose a simple printer, afflicts and distresses me. It lowers me to myself to draw another into a hazardous situation which I cannot partake of with him. This consideration will account for my abstaining from * * * * * so long, and for the undeserved moderation with which I have treated him. I know my ground thoroughly when I affirm that *he alone* is the mark. It is not Bute, nor even the Princess Dowager. It is * * * * * whom every honest man should detest, and every brave man should attack. Some measures of dignity and prudence must nevertheless be preserved for our own sakes. I think your intended message to the lord mayor is more spirited than judicious, and that it may be attended with consequences which (compared with the single purpose of * * * * *) are not worth hazarding—*non est tanti*—consider it is not

JUNIUS or Jack Wilkes, but a grave sheriff (for *grave* you should be) who marks his entrance into office with a direct outrage to the * * * * *
 * * * * *; that it is only an outrage, and leads to nothing.—Will not courtiers take advantage? Will not Whigs be offended? And whether offended or not, will not all parties pretend to condemn you? If *measures and not men* has *any* meaning (and I own it has very little), it must hold particularly in the case of * * * * *; and if truth and reason be on one side, and all the common-place topics on the other, can you doubt to which side the multitude will incline? Besides that it is too early to begin this kind of attack, I confess I am anxious for your safety. I know that in the ordinary course of law they cannot hurt you; but did the idea of a Bill of Banishment never occur to you? And don't you think a demonstration of this kind on your part might furnish government with a specious pretence for destroying you at once, by a summary proceeding? Consider the measure coolly and then determine.

If these loose thoughts should not weigh with you as much as I could wish, I would then recommend a little alteration in the message. I would have it stated thus :—

“ *Prince's Court, 24 October, 1771.*

“ Mr. Wilkes presents his duty to the Lord

Mayor, and flatters himself he shall be honoured with his Lordship's approbation, if he prefers the real service of his country to-morrow in the administration of justice at the Old Bailey, to the vain parade of a procession to St. Paul's.—With the warmest attachment to the House of Hanover, and the most determined allegiance to the chief magistrate, he hopes it will not be thought incumbent on him to take an active part in celebrating the accession of a prince, under whose inauspicious reign the English constitution has been grossly and deliberately violated, the civil rights of the people no less daringly invaded, and their humble petitions for redress rejected with contempt.”—

In the first part, *to ask a man's leave to prefer the real service of our country to a vain parade*, seems, if serious, too servile;—if jest, unseasonable, and rather approaching to burlesque.—The rest appears to me not less strong than your own words, and better guarded in point of safety, which you neglect too much.—I am now a little hurried, and shall write to you shortly upon some other topics.

JUNIUS.

N^o 78.

Prince's Court, Monday Morning, Nov. 4.

On my return home last night I had the very great pleasure of reading the Dedication

and Preface which Mr. Woodfall left for me. I am going with the city officers to invite the little great to the custard on Saturday. *Perditur hoc inter misero lux.* I shall only add, *accepi, legi, probavi.* I am much honoured by the polite attention of JUNIUS¹.

N^o 79.

6 November, 1771.

I ENTREAT you to procure for me copies of the informations against Eyre before the Lord Mayor. I presume they were taken in writing. If not I beg you will favour me with the most exact account of the substance of them, and any observations of your own that you think material. If I am right in my facts, I answer for my law, and mean to attack Lord Mansfield as soon as possible.

My American namesake is plainly a man of abilities, though I think a little unreasonable, when he insists upon more than an absolute surrender of the fact. I agree with him that it is a hardship on the Americans to be taxed by the British legislature; but it is a hardship inseparable in theory from the condition of colonists, in

¹ Upon this letter was written by Mr. Wilkes, "On returning JUNIUS, the Dedication and Preface he sent me."

which they have voluntarily placed themselves. If emigration be no crime to deserve punishment, it is certainly no virtue to claim exemption; and however it may have proved eventually beneficial, the mother country was but little obliged to the intentions of the first emigrants. But, in fact, change of place does not exempt from subjection:—the members of our factories settled under foreign governments, and whose voluntary banishment is much more laudable with regard to the mother country, are taxed with the laws of consulage. *Au reste*, I see no use in fighting this question in the newspapers, nor have I time. You may assure Dr. Lee, that to *my* heart and understanding the names of American and Englishman are synonymous, and that as to any future taxation of America, I look upon it as near to impossible as the highest improbability can go.

I hope that since he has opposed me where he thinks me wrong, he will be equally ready to assist me when he thinks me right. Besides the fallibility natural to us all, no man writes under so many disadvantages as I do. I cannot consult the learned, I cannot directly ask the opinion of my acquaintance, and in the newspapers I never am assisted.

Those who are conversant with books, well know how often they mislead us, when we have

not a living monitor at hand to assist us in comparing practice with theory.

N^o 80.

TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

Prince's Court, Wednesday, Nov. 6.

I do not delay a moment giving you the information you wish. I enclose a copy of Eyre's commitment. Nothing else in this business has been reduced to writing. The examination was before the sitting justice, Alderman Hallifax, at Guildhall; and it is not usual to take it in writing, on account of the multiplicity of business there. The paper was found upon him. He was asked what he had to say in his defence, his answer was, I hope you will bail me. Mr. Holder, the clerk, answered, that is impossible. There never was an instance of it, when the person was taken in the fact, or the goods found upon him. I believe Holder's law is right. Alderman Hallifax likewise granted a search warrant prior to the examination. At Eyre's lodgings many more quires of paper were found, all marked on purpose, from a suspicion of Eyre. After Eyre had been some time at Wood Street Compter, a key was found in his room there, which appears to be a key to the

closet at Guildhall, from whence the paper was stolen. The Lord Mayor refused to bail Eyre, but I do not find that any fresh examination was taken at the Mansion-house. The circumstances were well known. I was present at the examination before Hallifax, but as sheriff could not interfere, only I whispered Hallifax he could not bail Eyre. *Anglus* in to-day's Public Advertiser told some particulars I had mentioned. I did not know of that letter; it is Mr. Bernard's of Berkeley Square. As to the Americans, I declare I know no difference between an inhabitant of Boston in Lincolnshire, and of Boston in New England. I honour the Americans; but our ancestors who staid and drove out the tyrant, are justly greater in merit and fame than those who fled and deserted their countrymen. Their future conduct has been a noble atonement, and their sons have much surpassed them. I will mention to Dr. Lee what you desire. You shall have every communication you wish from me. Yet I beg JUNIUS to reflect a moment. To whom am I now writing? I am all doubt and uncertainty, though not mistrust or suspicion. I should be glad to canvass freely every part of a great plan. I dare not write it to a man I do not know, of whose connexions I am totally ignorant. I differ with JUNIUS in one point: I think by being concealed he has infi-

nite advantages which I want. I am on the Indian coast, where, from the fire kindled round me, I am marked out to every hostile arrow which knows its way to me. Those who are in the dark are safe, from the want of direction of the pointless shaft. I followed JUNIUS's advice about the card on the anniversary of the King's accession. I dropped the idea. I wish to know his sentiments about certain projects against the usurped powers of the House of Lords. The business is too vast to write, too hazardous to communicate to an unknown person. JUNIUS will forgive me. What can be done?—"Alas!" where is the man after all Wilkes has experienced, in whose friendly bosom he can repose his secret thoughts, his noble but most dangerous designs? The person most capable he can have no access to, and all others he will not trust. I stand alone, *isolé* as the French call it, a single column unpropped, and perhaps nodding to its fall.

JOHN WILKES.

N° 81.

9 November, 1771.

I AM much obliged to you for your information about Eyre. The facts are as I un-

derstood them, and, with the blessing of God, I will pull Mansfield to the ground.

Your offer to communicate your plan against the Lords was voluntary. Do now as you think proper. I have no resentments but against the common enemy, and will assist you in any way that you will suffer yourself to be assisted. When you have satisfied your understanding that there may be reasons why JUNIUS should attack the King, the minister, the court of King's Bench, and the House of Commons, in the way that I have done, and yet should desert or betray the man who attacks the House of Lords, I would still appeal to your heart. Or if you have any scruples about that kind of evidence, ask that amiable daughter whom you so implicitly confide in—*Is it possible that JUNIUS should betray me?* Do not conceive that I solicit new employment. I am overcome with the slavery of writing.

Farewell.

N^o 82.

Prince's Court, near Storey's Gate, Westminster,
Wednesday, January 15, 1772.

TO JUNIUS.

A NECESSARY attention to my health engrossed my time entirely in the few holidays

I spent at Bath, and I am rewarded with being perfectly recovered. The repairs of the clay cottage, to which I am tenant for life, seem to have taken place very successfully; and the building will probably last a few more years in tolerable condition.

Yesterday I met the Supporters of the Bill of Rights at the London Tavern. Much discourse passed about the publication of JUNIUS's letter. Dr. Lee and Mr. Watkin Lewes, who were both suspected, fully exculpated themselves. I believe the publication was owing to the indiscretion of Mr. Patrick Cawdron, a linendraper in Cheapside, who shewed it to his partner on the Saturday. The partner copied it on the Sunday, and the Monday following it appeared in the Morning Chronicle. The Gazetteer only copied it from thence. The Society directed a disavowal of their publication of it to be sent to you, and are to take the letter into consideration at the next meeting. I forgot to mention that Mr. Cawdron keeps the papers of the Society.

The winter campaign will begin with the next week. I believe that the sheriffs will have the old battle renewed with the Commons, and I suppose the lord mayor and the courtly aldermen will commit the printer for us to release. Another scene will probably open with the Lords. JUNIUS has observed, "the arbitrary power they have assumed of imposing fines, and

committing during pleasure, will now be exercised in its fullest extent." The progress of the business I suspect will be this—a bitter libel against Pomfret, Denbigh, or Talbot, attacking the peer personally, not in his legislative or judicial capacity, will appear. His Lordship, passion's slave, will complain to the House. They will order the printer into custody and set a heavy fine. The Sheriffs the next morning will go to Newgate, examine the warrant of commitment, and, like the angel to Peter, take the prisoner by the hand and conduct him out of prison; afterwards they will probably make their appeal to the public against the usurpation of their Lordships, and their entirely setting aside the power of juries in their proceedings.

Are there more furious wild beasts to be found in the upper den than the three I have named? Miller, the printer of the London Evening Post, at No. 2, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row, is the best man I know for this business. He will print whatever is sent him. He is a fine Oliverian soldier. I intend a manifesto with my name on Monday to give spirit to the printers, and to shew them who will be their protector. I foresee it will make the two houses more cautious, but it is necessary for our friends, and the others shall be baited till they are driven into the snare. Adieu.

JOHN WILKES.

DEDICATION

TO THE

ENGLISH NATION.

I DEDICATE to You a collection of Letters, written by one of Yourselves for the common benefit of us all. They would never have grown to this size, without Your continued encouragement and applause*. To me they originally owe nothing, but a healthy, sanguine constitution. Under *Your* care they have thriven. To *You* they are indebted for whatever strength or beauty they possess. When Kings and Ministers are forgotten, when the force and direction of personal satire is no longer under-

* See Private Letters, No. 5. in which the author, shortly after his appearance before the public under the signature of JUNIUS, expresses an intention to discontinue writing under that name; nor would he in all probability have persevered, but for the reason assigned above. EDIT.

stood, and when measures are only felt in their remotest consequences, this book will, I believe, be found to contain principles, worthy to be transmitted to posterity. When You leave the unimpaired, hereditary freehold to Your children, You do but half Your duty. † Both liberty and property are precarious, unless the possessors have sense and spirit enough to defend them.—This is not the language of vanity. If I am a vain man, my gratification lies within a narrow circle. I am the sole depositary of my own secret, and it shall perish with me*.

If an honest, and, I may truly affirm, a laborious zeal for the public service has given me any weight in Your esteem, let me exhort and conjure You never to suffer an invasion of Your political constitution, however minute the instance may appear, to pass by, without a determined, persevering resistance. One precedent creates another. They soon ac-

* This must be understood only in general terms. From the following passage in Private Letters, No. 8. it is obvious that there were persons to whom the writer unbosomed himself; although there is still every reason for believing that such persons formed, as he has expressed it above, *only a narrow circle*. —“The last letter you printed was idle and improper, and, I assure you, printed against my own opinion. The truth is there are people about me, whom I would wish not to contradict, and who had rather see JUNIUS in the papers, ever so improperly, than not at all.” EDIT.

cumulate, and constitute law. What yesterday was fact, to-day is doctrine. Examples are supposed to justify the most dangerous measures, and where they do not suit exactly, the defect is supplied by analogy.—Be assured that the laws, which protect us in our civil rights, grow out of the constitution, and that they must fall or flourish with it. } This is not the cause of faction, or of party, or of any individual, but the common interest of every man in Britain. Although the King should continue to support his present system of government, the period is not very distant, at which You will have the means of redress in Your own power. It may be nearer perhaps than any of us expect, and I would warn You to be prepared for it. The King may possibly be advised to dissolve the present parliament a year or two before it expires of course, and precipitate a new election, in hopes of taking the nation by surprize. If such a measure be in agitation, this very caution may defeat or prevent it*.

* The object to have been accomplished by obtaining a new parliament does not appear to have been of sufficient force to have precipitated such a measure; and was, in consequence, relinquished: on which account the parliament in question was not dissolved till September 30th, 1774, after having existed six years, four months, and twenty-one days. Many of the letters of JUNIUS turning upon the elective franchise, and the necessity of triennial parliaments, the reader may not be displeased to

I cannot doubt that You will unanimously assert the freedom of election, and vindicate Your exclusive right to choose Your representatives. But other questions have been started, on which Your determination should be equally clear and unanimous. Let it be impressed upon Your minds, let it be instilled into Your children, that the liberty of the press is the *Palladium* of all the civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman, and that the right of juries to return a general verdict, in all cases whatsoever, is an essential part of our constitution, not to be controuled or limited by the judges, nor in

see, at one view, the respective dates of the dissolution and re-assembling of the several parliaments during the present reign.

Met.		Dissolved.		Existed.		
				Y.	M.	D.
26 Oct.	1760	20 March	1761	0	4	25
19 May	1761	11 March	1768	6	9	22
10 May	1768	30 Sept.	1774	6	4	21
29 Nov.	1774	1 Sept.	1780	5	9	4
31 Oct.	1780	25 March	1784	3	4	26
18 May	1784	11 June	1790	6	0	25
10 Aug.	1790	20 May	1796	5	11	3
12 July	1796	31 Dec.	1800 [†]	5	11	18
UNITED KINGDOM, G. B. & I.						
22 Jan.	1801	29 June	1802			
31 Aug.	1802	24 Oct.	1806	4	2	25
15 Dec.	1806	29 April	1807	0	4	15
22 June	1807					

† *Stat. 39-40 Geo. III. c. 67. Art. 4.* EDIT.

any shape questionable by the legislature. The power of King, Lords, and Commons is not an arbitrary power*. They are the trustees, not the owners of the estate. The fee-simple is in US. They cannot alienate, they cannot waste. When we say that the legislature is *supreme*, we mean that it is the highest power known to the constitution:—that it is the highest in comparison with the other subordinate powers established by the laws. In this sense, the word *supreme* is relative, not absolute. The power of the legislature is limited, not only by the general rules of natural justice, and the welfare of the community, but by the forms and prin-

* This positive denial, of an arbitrary power being vested in the legislature, is not in fact a new doctrine. When the Earl of Lindsey, in the year 1675, brought a bill into the house of lords, *To prevent the dangers, which might arise from persons disaffected to government*, by which an oath and penalty was to be imposed upon the members of both houses, it was affirmed, in a protest signed by twenty-three lay-peers, (my lords the bishops were not accustomed to protest) “That the privilege of sitting and voting in parliament was an honour they had by birth, and a right so inherent in them, and inseparable from them, *that nothing could take it away*, but what, by the law of the land, must withal take away their lives, and corrupt their blood.”—These noble peers, (whose names are a reproach to their posterity) have, in this instance, solemnly denied the power of parliament to alter the constitution. Under a particular proposition, they have asserted a general truth, in which every man in England is concerned.

ciples of our particular constitution. If this doctrine be not true, we must admit, that King, Lords, and Commons have no rule to direct their resolutions, but merely their own will and pleasure. They might unite the legislative and executive power in the same hands, and dissolve the constitution by an act of parliament. But I am persuaded You will not leave it to the choice of seven hundred persons, notoriously corrupted by the crown, whether seven millions of their equals shall be freemen or slaves. The certainty of forfeiting their own rights, when they sacrifice those of the nation, is no check to a brutal degenerate mind. Without insisting upon the extravagant concession made to Harry the eighth, there are instances, in the history of other countries, of a formal, deliberate surrender of the public liberty into the hands of the sovereign. If England does not share the same fate, it is because we have better resources, than in the virtue of either house of parliament.

I said that the liberty of the press is the *palladium* of all Your rights, and that the right of juries to return a general verdict is part of Your constitution. To preserve the whole system, You must correct Your legislature. With regard to any influence of the constituent over the conduct of the representative, there is little difference between a seat in parliament for seven

years and a seat for life. The prospect of Your resentment is too remote ; and although the last session of a septennial parliament be usually employed in courting the favour of the people, consider that, at this rate, Your representatives have six years for offence, and but one for atonement. A death-bed repentance seldom reaches to restitution. If you reflect that in the changes of administration, which have marked and disgraced the present reign, although your warmest patriots have in their turn been invested with the lawful and unlawful authority of the crown, and though other reliefs or improvements have been held forth to the people, yet that no one man in office has ever promoted or encouraged a bill for shortening the duration of parliaments, but that, (whoever was minister) the opposition to this measure, ever since the septennial act passed, has been constant and uniform on the part of government,—You cannot but conclude, without the possibility of a doubt, that long parliaments are the foundation of the undue influence of the crown. This influence answers every purpose of arbitrary power to the crown, with an expence and oppression to the people, which would be unnecessary in an arbitrary government. The best of our ministers find it the easiest and most compendious mode of conducting the King's affairs ; and all ministers

have a general interest in adhering to a system, which of itself is sufficient to support them in office, without any assistance from personal virtue, popularity, labour, abilities, or experience. It promises every gratification to avarice and ambition, and secures impunity.—These are truths unquestionable.—If they make no impression, it is because they are too vulgar and notorious. But the inattention or indifference of the nation has continued too long. You are roused at last to a sense of Your danger.—The remedy will soon be in Your power. If JUNIUS lives, You shall often be reminded of it. If, when the opportunity presents itself, You neglect to do Your duty to Yourself and to posterity, —to God and to Your country, I shall have one consolation left, in common with the meanest and basest of mankind.—Civil liberty may still last the life of

JUNIUS.

P R E F A C E.

THE encouragement given to a multitude of spurious, mangled publications of the letters of JUNIUS; persuades me, that a complete edition, corrected and improved by the author, will be favourably received. The printer will readily acquit me of any view to my own profit*. I undertake this troublesome task, merely to serve a man who has deserved well of me, and of the public; and who, on my account, has been exposed to an expensive, tyrannical prosecution. For these reasons, I give to *Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall*, and to him alone, my right, interest, and property in these letters, as fully and completely, to all intents and purposes, as an author can possibly convey his property in his own works to another.

This edition contains all the letters of *Junius*, *Philo Junius*, and of *Sir William Draper* and *Mr. Horne* to *Junius*, with their respective

* See Private Letters, No. 59. and note appended to it.
EDIT.

dates, and according to the order in which they appeared in the Public Advertiser*. The auxiliary part of *Philo Junius* was indispensably necessary to defend or explain particular passages in JUNIUS, in answer to plausible objections; but the subordinate character is never guilty of the indecorum of praising his principal. The fraud was innocent, and I always intended to explain it†. The notes will be found not only useful, but necessary. References to facts not generally known, or allusions to the current report or opinion of the day, are in a little time unintelligible. Yet the reader will not find himself overloaded with explanations. I was not born to be a commentator, even upon my own works.

It remains to say a few words upon the liberty of the press. The daring spirit, by which these letters are supposed to be distinguished, seems to require that something serious should be said in their defence. I am no

* From this order there are two or three deviations, but too trivial to be worth pointing out. EDIT.

† It was, in point of fact, publicly avowed by the author, in the following notice inserted in the Public Advertiser October 20, 1771 :

“ We have the author’s consent to say, that the letters, published in this paper under the signature of *Philo Junius*, are written by *Junius*.” EDIT.

lawyer by profession, nor do I pretend to be more deeply read, than every English gentleman should be in the laws of his country. If therefore the principles I maintain are truly constitutional, I shall not think myself answered, though I should be convicted of a mistake in terms, or of misapplying the language of the law. I speak to the plain understanding of the people, and appeal to their honest, liberal construction of me.

Good men, to whom alone I address myself, appear to me to consult their piety as little as their judgment and experience, when they admit the great and essential advantages accruing to society from the freedom of the press, yet indulge themselves in peevish or passionate exclamations against the abuses of it. Betraying an unreasonable expectation of benefits, pure and intire, from any human institution, they in effect arraign the goodness of Providence, and confess that they are dissatisfied with the common lot of humanity. In the present instance they really create to their own minds, or greatly exaggerate the evil they complain of. The laws of England provide, as effectually as any human laws can do, for the protection of the subject, in his reputation, as well as in his person and property. If the characters of private men are insulted or in-

jured, a double remedy is open to them, by *action* and *indictment*. If, through indolence, false shame, or indifference, they will not appeal to the laws of their country, they fail in their duty to society, and are unjust to themselves. If, from an unwarrantable distrust of the integrity of juries, they would wish to obtain justice by any mode of proceeding, more summary than a trial by their peers, I do not scruple to affirm, that they are in effect greater enemies to themselves, than to the libeller they prosecute.

With regard to strictures upon the characters of men in office and the measures of government, the case is a little different. A considerable latitude must be allowed in the discussion of public affairs, or the liberty of the press will be of no benefit to society. As the indulgence of private malice and personal slander should be checked and resisted by every legal means, so a constant examination into the characters and conduct of ministers and magistrates should be equally promoted and encouraged. They, who conceive that our news papers are no restraint upon bad men, or impediment to the execution of bad measures, know nothing of this country. In that state of abandoned servility and prostitution, to which the undue influence of the crown has reduced the other branches of the legislature, our ministers and magistrates have

in reality little punishment to fear, and few difficulties to contend with, beyond the censure of the press, and the spirit of resistance, which it excites among the people. While this censorial power is maintained, to speak in the words of a most ingenious foreigner, both minister and magistrate is compelled, in almost every instance, *to choose between his duty and his reputation*. A dilemma of this kind, perpetually before him, will not indeed work a miracle upon his heart, but it will assuredly operate, in some degree, upon his conduct. At all events, these are not times to admit of any relaxation in the little discipline we have left.

But it is alledged, that the licentiousness of the press is carried beyond all bounds of decency and truth;—that our excellent ministers are continually exposed to the public hatred or derision;—that, in prosecutions for libels on government, juries are partial to the popular side; and that, in the most flagrant cases, a verdict cannot be obtained for the King.—If the premises were admitted, I should deny the conclusion. It is not true that the temper of the times has, in general, an undue influence over the conduct of juries. On the contrary, many signal instances may be produced of verdicts returned for the King, when the inclinations of the people led strongly to

an undistinguishing opposition to government. Witness the cases of *Mr. Wilkes* and *Mr. Almon**. In the late prosecutions of the printers of my address to a great personage, the juries were never fairly dealt with.—*Lord Chief Justice Mansfield*, conscious that the paper in question contained no treasonable or libellous matter, and that the severest parts of it, however painful to the King, or offensive to his servants, were strictly true, would fain have restricted the jury to the finding of special facts, which, as to *guilty* or *not guilty*, were merely indifferent. This particular motive, combined with his general purpose to contract the power of juries, will account for the charge he delivered in *Woodfall's* trial†. He told the jury, in so many

* The case of *Wilkes* here alluded to is his prosecution, for having written an obscene parody on Pope's Essay on Man, which he called "An Essay on Woman." *Almon* was prosecuted merely for having sold in a magazine entitled *The London Museum*, which he did not print, a transcript of *JUNIUS's* letter to the King, first published in the *Public Advertiser*, and thence copied into a variety of other newspapers. And the result was a verdict against him, although it did not appear to the court that he was privy to the sale, or even knew that the magazine, sold at his shop, contained the letter to the King. EDIT.

† Memorable as this charge is on various accounts, and especially as having laid the foundation for a very warm and animated discussion both in and out of parliament, it is very extraordinary that it is no where reported in our senatorial documents,

words, that they had nothing to determine, except the fact of *printing and publishing*, and whether or no the *blanks* or *innuendoes* were properly filled up in the information;—but that,

documents, and is indeed difficult to be obtained from any other quarter. The fact is, that although it was laid by Lord Mansfield on the table, in the house of lords, when summoned at his request to take it into consideration, yet as he did not make any express motion upon the subject, it was not entered into the journals, and was only left with the clerk for any noble lord to take a copy of it, who was desirous of doing so. The reader, therefore, will feel gratified by being put into possession of the charge, together with Lord Camden's interrogatories in regard to it, proposed to the Lord Chief Justice in his proper place in the upper house, and to which the latter did not chuse to make any reply. To these it may be also advantageous to subjoin a summary of the speeches of the late Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke upon the same subject, when introduced into the House of Commons, as containing, in a condensed form, the argument of the opposite sides of the question. Mr. Fox, it is well known, was, at this period, in favour of the ministry; but the political error he then laboured under, he nobly redeemed a few years afterwards, and amply atoned for to the public, by the excellent and truly constitutional bill "to remove doubts respecting the functions of juries in cases of libel," introduced into the senate in the session of 1791, as more particularly noticed in another part of this work, and which, by his indefatigable perseverance was at length carried through the legislature, has nullified Lord Mansfield's doctrine, and set the important question completely at rest.

Mr. Woodfall, as a party concerned, modestly forbore to offer any statement of this celebrated trial in the Public

whether the defendant had committed a *crime* or not, was no matter of consideration to twelve men, who yet, upon their oaths, were to pronounce their peer *guilty*, or *not guilty*. When

Advertiser, in consequence of which the writer is obliged to avail himself of the following extract, though very imperfectly given, from a contemporary journal.

An account of the trial at Guildhall of the original publisher of JUNIUS'S Letter to the King.

Yesterday morning, [June 13, 1770,] about nine o'clock, came on before Lord Mansfield, in the Court of King's-bench at Guildhall, the trial of Mr. Woodfall, the original printer of JUNIUS'S letter in the Public Advertiser of December 19. Only seven of the *special* jury attended, viz. William Bond, foreman; Peter Cazalet, Alexander Peter Allen, Frederick Commerell, Hermen Meyer, John Thomas, and Barrington Buggin.

Upon which the following five talesmen were taken out of the box, viz. William Hannard, Paul Verges, William Sibley, William Willett, and William Davis.

The trial was opened by Mr. Wallis.

Nathaniel Crowder swore he bought the paper of Mr. Woodfall's publishing servant, whom he named.

Mr. Harris proved that the duty for the advertisements and stamps were paid by Mr. Woodfall. And

A Clerk of Sir John Fielding's proved, by a receipt from Mr. Woodfall, his concern in and for the paper.

The publication and direction of the paper by Mr. Woodfall being thus proved,

Lord Mansfield, in his charge, told the jury, That there were only two points for their consideration: the first the printing and publishing the paper in question; the second, the sense and meaning of it: That as to the charges of its
being

we hear such nonsense delivered from the bench, and find it supported by a laboured train of

being malicious, seditious, &c. they were inferences in law about which no evidence need be given, any more than that part of an indictment need be proved by evidence, which charges a man with being moved by the instigation of the Devil: That therefore the printing and sense of the paper were alone what the jury had to consider of; and that if the paper should really contain no breach of the law, that was a matter which might afterwards be moved in arrest of judgment: That he had no evidence to sum up to them, as the defendant's counsel admitted the printing and publication to be well proved: That as to the sense, they had not called in doubt the manner in which the dashes in the paper were filled up in the record, by giving any other sense to the passages; if they had, the jury would have been to consider which application was the true one, that charged in the information, or suggested by the defendant. That the jury might now compare the paper with the information: That if they did not find the application wrong, they must find the defendant guilty; and if they did find it wrong, they must acquit him: That this was not the time for alleviation or aggravation, that being for future consideration: That every subject was under the controul of the law, and had a right to expect from it protection for his person, his property, and his good name: That if any man offended the laws, he was amenable to them, and was not to be censured or punished, but in a legal course: That any person libelled had a right either to bring a civil or a criminal prosecution: That in the latter, which is by information or indictment, it is immaterial whether the publication be false or true: That it is no defence to say it is true, because it is a breach of the peace, and therefore criminal; but in a civil prosecution, it is a defence to say the charges in the publication are true; because the plaintiff

there

sophistry, which a plain understanding is unable to follow, and which an unlearned jury,

there sues only for a pecuniary satisfaction to himself; and that this is the distinction as to that nature of defence.—His Lordship said, he was afraid it was too true that few characters in the kingdom escaped libels: That many were very injuriously treated—and if so, that the best way to prevent it was by an application to the law, which is open to every man: That the liberty of the press consisted in every man having the power to publish his sentiments without first applying for a licence to any one; but if any man published what was against law, he did it at his peril, and was answerable for it in the same manner as he who suffers his hand to commit an assault, or his tongue to utter blasphemy.”

Between eleven and twelve the jury withdrew; at four the court adjourned; and a little after nine the jury waited on Lord Mansfield at his house in Bloomsbury-square, with their verdict, which was *Guilty of PRINTING and PUBLISHING ONLY*.

This charge having been laid upon the table of the House of Lords, December 10, 1770, by the Lord Chief Justice, the following questions were put to him, in his place, by Lord Camden, on the day ensuing.

1. Does the opinion mean to declare, that upon the general issue of Not Guilty, in the case of a seditious libel, the jury have no right, by law, to examine the innocence or criminality of the paper, if they think fit, and to form their verdict upon such examination?

2. Does the opinion mean to declare, that in the case abovementioned, when the jury have delivered in their verdict, *Guilty*, that this verdict has found the fact only and not the law?

3. Is it to be understood by this opinion, that if the jury come to the bar, and say that they find the printing and publishing, but that the paper is no libel, that in that case the

however it may shock their reason, cannot be supposed qualified to refute, can it be wondered

the jury have found the defendant guilty generally, and the verdict must be so entered up?

4. Whether the opinion means to say, that if the judge, after giving his opinion of the innocence or criminality of the paper, should leave the consideration of that matter, together with the printing and publishing, to the jury, such a direction would be contrary to law?

5. I beg leave to ask, whether dead and living judges, then absent, did declare their opinions in open court, and whether the noble Lord has any note of such opinions?

6. Whether they declared such opinions, after solid arguments, or upon any point judicially before them?

To these queries Lord Mansfield made no reply, briefly observing that he would not answer interrogatories.

The subject was introduced into the lower house, December 6, 1770, on a motion made by Mr. Serjeant Glynn. "That a committee should be appointed to enquire into the administration of criminal justice, and the proceedings of the judges in Westminster-hall, particularly in cases relating to the Liberty of the Press, and the constitutional power and duty of juries."

In the course of the discussion, the speakers on both sides alluded not only to the charge in Mr. Woodfall's case, but also to Mr. Baron Smythe's conduct in trying a Scotch serjeant at Guildford, which will be found more particularly detailed in the Editor's note to JUNIUS's Letter LXVIII. Amongst the chief speakers on this occasion were, as we have already observed, on the side of the ministry, Mr. Fox, and on that of the people, Mr. Burke. The following summary of their argument, which in truth contains the general argument of the rest, is extracted from a pamphlet entitled *Vox Senatûs*, printed previous to the contest which soon afterwards ensued,

that they should return a verdict, perplexed, absurd, or imperfect?—*Lord Mansfield* has not

between the House of Commons and the Printers, respecting the publication of parliamentary debates, and which, in a great measure, led the way to that controversy. The speeches in this pamphlet were altogether reported by the late Mr. Win. Woodfall, whose strength of memory, nice accuracy and rigid impartiality, were equally subjects of admiration, and held in the highest veneration, by the members of both houses of parliament, to whatever party they might belong, during the many years that he continued to exercise his talents in that most laborious, and we trust we may add, most important branch of public duty.

Mr. Fox spoke as follows:—

“ We are told by the abettors of this motion, that jealousies, murmurs, and discontents encrease and multiply throughout the nation; that the people are under terrible apprehensions that the law is perverted, the juries are deprived of their constitutional powers, that the courts of justice are not sound and untainted; in a word, that the judges have, like a dozen of monstrous Patagonian giants, either swallowed, or are going to swallow up both law and gospel. And how do they prove the truth of these allegations? the manner is pleasant enough. They refer us to their own libellous remonstrances, and to those infamous lampoons and satires, which they have taken care to write and circulate. They modestly substitute themselves in the place of the nation, and call their own complaints the grievances of England. Their meaning is plain enough, and we understand perfectly how all their grievances might be redressed. For my part I am not disposed to take the voice of a miserable faction for the voice of my country. Were the people really dissatisfied, I should be glad to know how I am to ascertain the reality of that dissatisfaction? I must freely confess, that I know no other way but that of consulting this
House.

yet explained to the world, why he accepted of a verdict, which the court afterwards set aside

House. Here the people are represented, and here their voice expressed. There is no other criterion but the majority of this assembly, by which we can judge of their sentiments. This man, in order to answer one purpose, and that man, in order to answer another, will tell you that a general cry has gone abroad against certain men and measures, but will you be so credulous as to take him upon his word, when you can easily penetrate his interested views and find him the original and prime mover of all the clamour? I can easily trace the author of the outcry raised against the judges; and I would point them out, had not they, as well as their selfish ends, been already exposed in all their deformity. Why then, should we hesitate to put a negative upon a question, which sprung from such a low source? from dirt it came, and to dirt let it return. As to myself, I certainly will, as I can never acknowledge for the voice of the nation, what is not echoed by the majority of the house; and I do not find that the majority of us entertain any suspicions, much less terrible apprehensions, of the judges; though, if there were any just foundation for complaint, we must certainly have been better informed of it than the people.

Indeed if the adoption of this enquiry would answer any good purpose, I should not be such a violent opposer, convinced as I am that the judges are blameless. But I am fully persuaded, that would not be the case. For as I have shewn, it would be an attempt to remove discontents which do not exist but among those who have generated, fostered, and reared them up to their present magnitude, and would not, therefore, be satisfied, though Justice, though Astrea herself, should descend naked from heaven to exculpate our judges. And what is more, it would, on their own principles, prove fruitless and nugatory, even if we suppose the people to be really

as illegal, and which, as it took no notice of the *innuendoes*, did not even correspond with

really discontented. For what have they been doing for these two last years, but ringing constantly in our ears the contempt in which we are held by the people? have they not made these walls echo with the terms of reproach, which they alledged were cast upon us by men of every degree, by high and low, rich and poor, learned and unlearned? were we not, and are we not still, according to their account, held in universal detestation and abhorrence? does not the whole empire, from one end to the other, reckon us equally weak and wicked? in a word, are we not become an abomination in the land? such is the language of the minority. How can they, with a serious face, desire us to undertake this enquiry, in order to satisfy the people? the people, if their former assertions are to be credited, will receive no good at our hands. They will regard what we say no more than a knot of coffee-house politicians. We are too ridiculous as well as odious, to do any thing that will appear gracious in their eyes. What is the conclusion to be drawn? let us satisfy ourselves. Let us act according to the dictates of honour and conscience, and be at peace with our own minds. It is thus that we shall sooner or later regain the confidence of our constituents, if we have lost it; and not by humouring, as foolish nurses humour great lubberly boys, the wayward whims of a misled multitude. The characteristic of this house, should be a firm and manly steadiness, an unshaken perseverance in the pursuit of great and noble plans of general utility, and not a wavering inconstant fluctuation of counsels regulated by the shifting of the popular breeze. If we are not to judge for ourselves, but to be ever at the command of the vulgar, and their capricious shouts and hisses, I cannot see what advantage the nation can reap from a representative body, which they might not have reaped from a tumultuous assembly of themselves, collected

his own charge. If he had known his duty he should have sent the jury back.—I speak ad-

at random on Salisbury Plain or Runningmede. And it is very well known, that such an irregular and riotous crowd are but very ill qualified to judge truly of their own interest, or to pursue it, even when they form a right judgment. They are but very unsteady guardians of liberty and property. Do you want proofs? consult the English history, and you will find them in every page."

Mr. Burke, in answer to Mr. Fox, and in support of the motion, spoke as follows:—

"The subject of our present debate, is in my opinion, a matter of a very serious and important nature; and it is not therefore to be dismissed without mature deliberation. The honourable gentleman who introduced it, boldly arraigns the general conduct of our courts of justice; and the gentleman who seconded him, as boldly arraigns the conduct of a particular judge. Either charge should be alone sufficient to excite our closest attention. What effect ought then both in conjunction to produce? they ought to impel us, if not to enquire, at least to a minute and elaborate discussion. For what has the mover of the question arraigned? he has arraigned the general principles of jurisprudence now adopted by our judges, and has, *in his way*, proved them not only unconstitutional, but illegal. He has laid before you two heads of accusation, two points, in which he conceives the judges have not done their duty. These two points are *a rule of law and a rule of evidence* authorised, as he asserts, neither by precedent nor by the spirit of liberty. First he tells you that judges act illegally and unconstitutionally, in directing juries not to take cognizance of the malice or innocence of a culprit's intention in cases of libels; and secondly he tells you, that in cases of libels, they act illegally and unconstitutionally in acquainting the

visedly, and am well assured that no lawyer of character, in Westminster-hall, will contra-

the jury that the law infers guilt from the *prima facie* evidence ; a position by which masters become, even in criminal cases, responsible for the conduct of their servants.

These are the doctrines which he arraigns, and which are now in issue before you. He asserts that they are not sanctioned by precedent. But here his reading seems not to have been sufficiently extensive. There are precedents, and those too, I fear, of too much weight and authority. You have heard Lord Chief Justice Raymond's words quoted, and nothing can be more explicit, than they are in favour of these doctrines. What ! you will say can these be the doctrines of Lord Raymond, and yet be unknown to the learned serjeant ? Why it is impossible. A case so much in point could never escape his industry and learning : and to render the thing certain, he gives the assertion a flat contradiction. But I say that it is not only possible and probable, but certain ; and let me tell you, that the way to overturn the credit of grave and universally esteemed historians, is not to give them a flat contradiction. The most positive asseverations of a modern go for nothing, when they are unsupported by the contradictory testimony of some ancient contemporary author. Was this heresy then adopted as an article of faith, by Raymond ? Yes, sir, it was ; the fact is too clear, too well known, to bear dispute. Nor was it an innovation introduced by that great judge. No ; he received it as a legacy from still greater judges, and among the rest, from the very bulwark of the revolution, Lord Holt.

But what though this opinion has been sanctioned by a series of precedents ; what though it has been embraced by men as deep skilled in law and casuistry as remarkable for inflexible patriotism ; have not the greatest lawyers, the profoundest casuists, and the staunchest patriots erred ? Why then should the judges be thought exempted from the common lot of humanity ?

dict me. To shew the falsehood of *Lord Mansfield's* doctrine, it is not necessary to enter

humanity? Why should they be deemed infallible more than other mortals? *believe me, the wisdom of the whole nation can see farther than the sages of Westminster Hall. In a constitutional point, like this, the collective knowledge and penetration of the people at large are more to be depended on than the boasted discernment of all the bar. The reason is clear. Their eyes are not dazzled by the prospect of an opposite interest. The crown has no lure sufficiently tempting to make them forget themselves and the general good.

Why then should not we on this occasion, listen to their voice, as it is heard sufficiently loud and distinct? because, forsooth, they have no voice! because their sentiments are only to be gathered from the determinations of the majority of this House! because after a general election is closed, they have no legal existence, and have therefore no other mouth but that of their representatives! Strange doctrine! What then is become of petitioning? Are they not legally intitled to that right? You cannot deny it without denying the authority of the Bill of Rights. How then can you pretend that they have no legal voice, but that of their representatives? they have both a real and a legal voice, and they have uttered that voice. Consult the *History of the reign of George the third*. In that performance, which will be an everlasting monument of the folly, incapacity, and pernicious politics of our late and present ministers, you will find it demonstrated, that the majority of Englishmen have petitioned the King, and have consequently expressed their own sentiments by their own mouth, without the intervention of their deputies. By what rule then does the majority of this House square its conduct, when it acts in direct opposition to the majority of the people? by that rule of arithmetic, which by its almighty fiat, overturned the laws of nature, decreed 296 to be greater than 1146, gave us
Colonel

into the merits of the paper which produced the trial. If every line of it were treason, his

Colonel Luttrell for John Wilkes, a cuckoo in a magpy's nest to suck its eggs.

That there should be found gentlemen, who would annihilate the people, and acknowledge no other voice but that of this House, is to me not at all surprising ! because the conduct of the most violent sticklers for this doctrine, has not deserved much applause or favour from them. But that they should have renounced reason and common sense, so far as to maintain that the majority of this assembly is the only organ, by which their sentiments can be expressed, is to me truly surprising : for where in the name of wonder, should the House acquire the necessary knowledge or intelligence ? is it by turning over these musty volumes, or by rummaging these gaudy boxes which lie on your table ? no ; they contain none of these mysteries. How then are they to be explored ? Is there any virtue or inspiration in these benches or cushions, by which they are communicated ? or does the echo of these walls whisper the secret in your ears ? No ; but the echo of every other wall, the murmur of every stream, the shouts, ay, and the hoots and hisses of every street in the nation ring it in your ears, and deafen you with their din. *Deafen you* did I say ? alas ! you were deaf before, or rather dead, else you would have heard ; for their voice is loud enough to waken almost the dead. For shame, gentlemen, let us hear no more such weak reasonings and sophistical refinements. Far from producing conviction, they cannot even extort a smile, except peradventure at the author, who resembles a hunter, that would catch an elephant in toils made of cobweb. The people have a voice of their own, and it must, nay it will be sooner or later heard ; and I, as in duty bound, will always exert every nerve, and every power, of which I am master, to hasten the completion of so desirable an event. My reverence for the judges, against whom the
popular

charge to the jury would still be false, absurd, illegal, and unconstitutional. If I stated the

popular cry is now so loud, will not deter me; because I know all judges are but men. Not only former judges, but juries have erred. Why not the present? Yes, sir, juries have erred, and they may err again. When they do, I shall be as ready to enquire into their conduct as I am now into that of the judges. Gentlemen may talk of their great respect for juries, and their readiness to acquiesce in their determinations; but I am not disposed to be so complaisant, I will make no man nor any set of men a compliment of the constitution. It is too valuable an inheritance to be so lightly relinquished. When the actions of juries are praiseworthy, let them be applauded; when they are criminal, let them be punished. Popularity should not be bought at so high a price. For my own part let the malicious and the ungenerous say what they will, I am a blind follower of no man, nor a bond slave to any party. I have always acted according to the best information of my judgment, and the clear dictates of my conscience. On this occasion I solemnly protest before God, that I entertain no personal enmity against any man, nor have I any interested schemes to promote. My sole object in supporting the proposed enquiry is the public welfare and the acquittal of the judges, for I am satisfied that an acquittal will be the consequence. In acting thus I think myself their best friend; because no other plan will clear their character. Till this step is taken, in vain do they pretend to superior sanctity; in vain do some gentlemen tread their halls as holy ground, or reverence their courts as the temples of the divinity. To the people they appear the temples of idols, and false oracles, or rather as the dwellings of truth and justice, converted into dens of thieves and robbers. For what greater robbers can there be, than those who rob men of their laws and liberties? No man has a greater veneration than I have for the doctors of the law; and it is for that reason

merits of my letter to *the King*, *I should imitate*
 LORD MANSFIELD, *and** TRAVEL OUT OF THE

reason that I would thus render their characters pure and unsullied as the driven snow. But will any of you pretend that this is at present the case? are not their temples profaned? has not pollution entered them, and penetrated into the holy of holies? Are not the priests suspected of being no better than those of Bell and the Dragon, or rather of being worse than those of Baal? and has not therefore the fire of the people's wrath almost consumed them? The lightning has pierced the sanctuary, and rent the veil of their temple from the top even to the bottom. Nothing is whole, nothing is sound. The ten tables of the law are shattered and splintered. The ark of the covenant is lost, and passed into the hands of the uncircumcised. Both they and ye are become an abomination unto the Lord. In order to wash away your sins, let Moses and the prophets ascend Mount Sinai, and bring us down the second table of the law in thunder and lightnings; for in thunder and lightnings the constitution was first, and must now be established. Let the judges mount up to the source of precedents and decisions, and trace the law clear and unpolluted along the stream of time, and the silent lapse of years. Let them march in procession to this house, ushered in by a long train of precedents and opinions, and lay them all in a bundle in the middle of the room. Then, and not till then, will they stand justified. Then, and not till then, will you stand justified. In vain do you trust to the virtue of that furred gown, or to the magic of that bauble, as Cromwell truly called it. They confer neither real power, nor, what is often its parent, a fair character. These desirable possessions are acquired by an upright conduct, and the confidence of the people." EDIT.

* The following quotation from a speech delivered by *Lord Chatham* on the eleventh of December, 1770, is taken with exactness.

RECORD. *When law and reason speak plainly, we do not want authority to direct our understandings. Yet, for the honour of the profession, I am content to oppose one lawyer to*

exactness. The reader will find it curious in itself, and very fit to be inserted here. “My Lords, the verdict, given in Woodfall’s trial, was *guilty of printing and publishing ONLY*; upon which two motions were made in court;—one, in arrest of judgment, by the defendant’s counsel, grounded upon the ambiguity of the verdict;—the other, by the counsel for the crown, for a rule upon the defendant, to shew cause, why the verdict should not be entered up according to the *legal* import of the words. On both motions, a rule was granted, and soon after the matter was argued before the court of King’s Bench. The noble judge, when he delivered the opinion of the court upon the verdict, went regularly through the whole of the proceedings at *Nisi Prius*, as well the evidence that had been given, as his own charge to the jury. This proceeding would have been very proper, had a motion been made of either side for a new trial, because either a verdict given contrary to evidence, or an improper charge by the judge at *Nisi Prius*, is held to be a sufficient ground for granting a new trial. But when a motion is made in arrest of judgment, or for establishing the verdict, by entering it up according to the legal import of the words, it must be on the ground of something appearing *on the face of the record*; and the court, in considering whether the verdict shall be established or not, are so confined to the *record*, that they cannot take notice of any thing that does not appear on the face of it; in the legal phrase, *they cannot travel out of the record*. The noble judge did travel out of the record, and I affirm that his discourse was *irregular, extrajudicial, and unprecedented*. His apparent motive, for doing what he knew to be wrong, was, that he might have an opportunity of telling the

another, especially when it happens that the King's Attorney General has virtually disclaimed the doctrine by which the Chief Justice meant to insure success to the prosecution. The

the public *extrajudicially*, that the other three judges concurred in the doctrine laid down in his charge." AUTHOR.

The opinion of the court here referred to, was as follows; and we give it as an extraordinary *dictum*, not readily to be met with in the present day. It was delivered by the Lord Chief Justice Nov. 20, 1770.

" This matter comes on before the court upon two rules, which have been obtained; the one by the defendant's counsel, to stay the entering up the interlocutory judgment in this cause; the other by the Attorney General, to enter up the judgment according to the legal import of the verdict. In considering these rules, we are naturally led to begin with the last, because the last may decide the former; and in doing this, it will be previously necessary to state a report of the trial. 'The defendant was tried for the printing and publishing, in a paper called the Public Advertiser, a libel signed JUNIUS; and in the information the tenor of the libel was set forth, with innuendoes, to complete the blanks, and with the usual epithets. (1.) The first witness, Crowder, proved the buying of the paper, which was produced, and twelve others, at the defendant's printing-house, of his servant. (2.) Harris proved payments at the stamp-office, by the defendant, for the Public Advertiser, and that the duty for the stamp upon this paper was paid by the defendant's servant. (3.) Lee, Sir John Fielding's clerk, proved several payments to the defendant for advertisements in the Public Advertiser, and produced his receipt.' The proof upon the trial was clear, and not controverted by the defendant's counsel, who called no witnesses. They rested their defence in objecting to some of the

the

opinion of the plaintiff's counsel, (however it may be otherwise insignificant) is weighty in the scale of the defendant.—*My Lord Chief Justice De Grey*, who filed the information *ex officio*, is directly with me. If he had concurred in *Lord Mansfield's* doctrine, the trial must have

the innuendoes, but principally applied to the jury to convince them, that the paper was innocent, and that some of the epithets in the information, did not apply to the intention of the defendant. No fact, in case the paper be innocent, can make the publication a subject of guilt; and if the jury find it so, the defendant may have advantage of its innocence by arrest of judgment in this court; but that is not any question here. Nor is this a case, like some of those, where a publication of a paper may be justified, from particular circumstances. I directed the jury, that if they believed the innuendoes, as to persons and things, to have been properly filled up in the information, and to be the true meaning of the paper, and if they gave credit to the witnesses, they must find the defendant guilty; for, if they believed them, there is no doubt but there was sufficient evidence of the defendant's printing and publish-

15 If the jury were obliged to determine, whether the paper was in law a libel or no, or to judge whether it was criminal, or to what degree, or if they were to require proofs of a criminal intention, then this direction was wrong. I told them, as I have always done before, that whether a libel or not, was a mere question of law, arising out of the record; and that all the epithets inserted in the information, were also formal inferences of law. A general verdict of the jury, finds only what the law implies from the fact. There is no necessary proof of malice to be made; for that is scarce possible to be produced. The law implies, from the fact of publication, a criminal intent. The jury stayed out a long while—many hours—

been a very short one. The facts were either admitted by *Woodfall's* counsel, or easily proved to the satisfaction of the jury. But *Mr. De Grey*, far from thinking he should acquit himself of his duty by barely proving the facts, entered largely, and I confess not without

hours—and at last delivered in their verdict at my house (the objection to its being out of the city being cured by consent.) To the usual question of the officer, the foreman answered in these words, Guilty of printing and publishing only. The officer has entered up the words literally, without so much as adding the usual words of reference to connect the sense. An affidavit of one of the jury has been attempted to be laid before the court by the defendant's counsel; but we are all of opinion that it cannot be received.—Such affidavit can only be admitted in motion for a new trial, where there is a doubt upon the words in which the verdict was delivered, or upon the judge's notes of the evidence: but an affidavit of a jurymen cannot be admitted to explain or assert, what he thought, or intended, at the time of giving in the verdict. The motion of the Attorney General divides itself into two parts; (1.) the first, to fill up the finding of the jury, with the usual words of reference, so as to connect the verdict with the information. The omission of these words, we are of opinion, is a technical mistake of the clerk, and may be now supplied. (2.) The second head of argument, is to omit the word only in the entry of the verdict. This we are all of opinion cannot be done; the word only must stand in the verdict. No reason can be urged for omitting the word only, but what goes to prove that it adds nothing to the sense of the verdict. If this word was omitted, the verdict would then be, guilty of printing and publishing, which is a general verdict of guilty; for there is no other charge in the information, but printing and publishing, and that alone

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the

ability, into the demerits of the paper, which he called a *sedition libel*. He dwelt but lightly upon those points, which, (according to Lord Mansfield) were the only matter of consideration to the jury. The criminal intent, the libellous matter, the pernicious tendency of the paper

the jury had to enquire. In the case of the King and Williams, for the North Briton, the jury found the defendant guilty of printing and publishing. The officer entered up the verdict guilty generally: the defendant received the sentence of this court, and no objection was taken by his counsel. Where there are more charges in an information than one, the finding the defendant guilty of printing and publishing only, would be an acquittal of the other charges; but here the jury had nothing else to find. They found him guilty of printing and publishing only, which was all of which they were to find him guilty, being the only crime with which he was charged. We are all of opinion, that my direction to the jury is right, and according to law; the positions contained in it never were doubted; it never has been, nor is it now complained of, in this court. There clearly can be no judgment of acquittal, because the fact found by the jury is the only question they had to try. The single doubt that remains, is as to the meaning of the word *only*. It would be improper now to make a question of the law, as I lay it down. In all the reports which I have made upon trials for libels, where my direction has been uniformly the same, the bar may remember the dead, and the living who are now absent, all to have concurred in agreeing, that it was law thus to direct the jury in matter of libel. Taking then the law to be thus, the only question is, whether any meaning, which will affect the verdict, can be put upon the word *only*, as it stands upon this record. If the Jury meant to say, they did not find the paper a libel, or the intent

itself, were the topics on which he principally insisted, and of which, for more than an hour, he tortured his faculties to convince the jury. If he agreed in opinion with *Lord Mansfield*, his discourse was impertinent, ridiculous, and unseasonable. But, understanding the law as I do, what he said was at least consistent and to the purpose.

If any honest man should still be inclined to leave the construction of libels to the court, I would intreat him to consider what a dreadful complication of hardships he imposes upon his fellow-subject—In the first place, the prosecution commences by *information* of an officer of the crown, not by the regular constitutional mode of *indictment* before a grand jury.—As the

of the defendant to be criminal in publishing it, or that they did not find the truth and application of the epithets in the information, all this would have vitiated the verdict; for it would have been entering into matters not before them. But if they meant to say, that they did not find the meaning put upon the innuendoes, we should enter up judgment of acquittal; but this would be contradictory to the former part of their verdict. It is impossible to say with certainty, what they meant. Possibly they meant differently, and some of them might intend not to find the whole sense put upon the innuendoes. This would be the most favourable supposition for the defendant, to which the Judges will always lean. But if a doubt arises on the import of the verdict, the Court should grant a *venire facias de novo*, which is in their power to do, when a verdict of acquittal has not been found for the defendant.” EDIT.

fact is usually admitted, or in general can easily be proved, the office of the petty jury is nugatory.—The *court* then judges of the nature and extent of the offence, and determines *ad arbitrium*, the *quantum* of the punishment, from a small fine to a heavy one, to repeated whipping, to pillory, and unlimited imprisonment. Cutting off ears and noses *might* still be inflicted by a resolute judge; but I will be candid enough to suppose that penalties, so apparently shocking to humanity, would not be hazarded in these times.—In all other criminal prosecutions, the jury decides upon the fact and the crime in one word, and the court pronounces a *certain* sentence, which is the sentence of the law, not of the judge. If *Lord Mansfield's* doctrine be received, the jury must either find a verdict of acquittal, contrary to evidence, (which, I can conceive, might be done by very conscientious men, rather than trust a fellow-creature to *Lord Mansfield's* mercy) or they must leave to the court two offices, never but in this instance united, of finding guilty, and awarding punishment.

But, says this honest *Lord Chief Justice*, “If the paper be not criminal, the defendant,” (though found guilty by his peers) “is in no danger, for he may move the court in arrest of judgment.”—True, my good Lord, but who

is to determine upon the motion?—Is not the court still to decide, whether judgment shall be entered up or not; and is not the defendant this way as effectually deprived of judgment by his peers, as if he were tried in a court of civil law, or in the chambers of the inquisition? It is you, my Lord, who then try the crime, not the jury. As to the probable effect of a motion in arrest of judgment, I shall only observe, that no reasonable man would be so eager to possess himself of the invidious power of inflicting punishment, if he were not predetermined to make use of it.

Again;—We are told that judge and jury have a distinct office;—that the jury is to find the fact, and the judge to deliver the law. *De jure respondent judices, de facto jurati*. The *dictum* is true, though not in the sense given to it by *Lord Mansfield*. The jury are undoubtedly to determine the fact, that is, whether the defendant did or did not commit the crime charged against him. The judge pronounces the sentence annexed by law to that fact so found; and if, in the course of the trial, any question of law arises, both the council and the jury must, of necessity, appeal to the judge, and leave it to his decision. An *exception* or *plea in bar* may be allowed by the court; but, when issue is joined, and the jury have received

their charge, it is not possible, in the nature of things, for them to separate the law from the fact, unless they think proper to return a *special* verdict.

It has also been alledged that, although a common jury are sufficient to determine a plain matter of fact, they are not qualified to comprehend the meaning, or to judge of the tendency of a seditious libel. In answer to this objection, (which, if well founded, would prove nothing as to the *strict right* of returning a general verdict) I might safely deny the truth of the assertion. *Englishmen* of that rank, from which juries are usually taken, are not so illiterate as, (to serve a particular purpose) they are now represented. Or, admitting the fact, let a special jury be summoned in all cases of difficulty and importance, and the objection is removed. But the truth is, that if a paper, supposed to be a libel upon government, be so obscurely worded, that twelve common men cannot possibly see the seditious meaning and tendency of it, it is in effect no libel. It cannot inflame the minds of the people, nor alienate their affections from government; for they no more understand what it means, than if it were published in a language unknown to them.

Upon the whole matter, it appears to *my* understanding, clear beyond a doubt, that if, in

any future prosecution for a seditious libel, the jury should bring in a verdict of acquittal not warranted by the evidence, it will be owing to the false and absurd doctrines laid down by *Lord Mansfield*. Disgusted at the odious artifices made use of by the judge to mislead and perplex them, guarded against his sophistry, and convinced of the falsehood of his assertions, they may perhaps determine to thwart his detestable purpose, and defeat him at any rate. To *him* at least, they will do *substantial justice*.—Whereas, if the whole charge, laid in the information, be fairly and honestly submitted to the jury, there is no reason whatsoever to presume that twelve men, upon their oaths, will not decide impartially between the King and the defendant. The numerous instances, in our state-trials, of verdicts recovered for the King, sufficiently refute the false and scandalous imputations thrown by the abettors of *Lord Mansfield* upon the integrity of juries.—But even admitting the supposition that, in times of universal discontent, arising from the notorious maladministration of public affairs, a seditious writer should escape punishment, it makes nothing against my general argument. If juries are fallible, to what other tribunal shall we appeal?—If juries cannot safely be trusted, shall we unite the offices of judge and jury, so wisely divided by the con-

stitution, and trust implicitly to *Lord Mansfield*?—Are the judges of the court of King's Bench more likely to be unbiassed and impartial, than twelve yeomen, burgesses, or gentlemen taken indifferently from the county at large?—Or, in short, shall there be *no* decision, until we have instituted a tribunal, from which no possible abuse or inconvenience whatsoever can arise?—If I am not grossly mistaken, these questions carry a decisive answer along with them*.

Having cleared the freedom of the press from a restraint, equally unnecessary and illegal, I return to the use which has been made of it in the present publication.

National reflections, I confess, are not to be justified in theory, nor upon any general principles. To know how well they are deserved, and how justly they have been applied, we must have the evidence of facts before us. We must be

* The questions are so decisive, and the general train of reasoning here advanced so clear and convincing, that the point has been ever since settled upon the authority of common sense, in the feelings and understanding of every man, whether professional or unprofessional. And all that remained to be done was an interference of the legislature to prevent a revival of the question by any future judge upon any future case whatsoever; a business patriotically undertaken by a statesman whose name will ever be connected with genuine patriotism, the late Mr. Fox, who in 1791 introduced a bill into parliament for this purpose, and in 1792 succeeded in carrying it through both houses. See farther on this subject note to JUNIUS, Letter XII. EDIT.

conversant with the *Scots* in private life, and observe their principles of acting to us, and to each other;—the characteristic prudence, the selfish nationality, the indefatigable smile, the persevering assiduity, the everlasting profession of a discreet and moderate resentment.—If the instance were not too important for an experiment, it might not be amiss to confide a little in their integrity.—Without any abstract reasoning upon causes and effects, we shall soon be convinced by *experience*, that the *Scots*, transplanted from their own country, are always a distinct and separate body from the people who receive them. In other settlements, they only love themselves;—in *England*, they cordially love themselves, and as cordially hate their neighbours. For the remainder of their good qualities, I must appeal to the reader's observation, unless he will accept of *my Lord Barrington's* authority. In a letter to the late *Lord Melcombe*, published by *Mr. Lee*, he expresses himself with a truth and accuracy not very common in his lordship's lucubrations.—“And Cockburne, like most of his countrymen, is as abject to those above him, as he is insolent to those below him*.”—I am far from meaning to impeach the articles of the Union. If the true

* See the same passage quoted in *Miscellaneous Letters*, No. CXI. EDIT.

spirit of these articles were religiously adhered to, we should not see such a multitude of Scotch commoners in the lower house, as representatives of English boroughs, while not a single Scotch borough is ever represented by an Englishman. We should not see English peerages given to Scotch ladies, or to the elder sons of Scotch peers, and the number of *sixteen* doubled and trebled by a scandalous evasion of the Act of Union.—If it should ever be thought advisable to dissolve an act, the violation or observance of which is invariably directed by the advantage and interest of the *Scots*, I shall say very sincerely with Sir Edward Coke, * “When poor England stood alone, and had not the access of another kingdom, and yet had more and as potent enemies as it now hath, yet the King of England prevailed.”

Some opinion may now be expected from me, upon a point of equal delicacy to the writer, and hazard to the printer. When the character of the chief magistrate is in question, more must be understood, than may safely be expressed. If it be really a part of our constitution, and not a mere *dictum* of the law, *that the King can do no wrong*, it is not the only instance, in the wisest of human institutions, where theory is at vari-

* Parliamentary History, 7. V. p. 400.

ance with practice.—That the sovereign of this country is not amenable to any form of trial, known to the laws, is unquestionable. But exemption from punishment is a singular privilege annexed to the royal character, and no way excludes the possibility of deserving it. How long, and to what extent a King of *England* may be protected by the forms, when he violates the spirit of the constitution, deserves to be considered. A mistake in this matter proved fatal to *Charles* and his son.—For my own part, far from thinking that the King can do no wrong, far from suffering myself to be deterred or imposed upon by the language of forms, in opposition to the substantial evidence of truth, if it were my misfortune to live under the inauspicious reign of a prince, whose whole life was employed in one base, contemptible struggle with the free spirit of his people, or in the detestable endeavour to corrupt their moral principles, I would not scruple to declare to him,—“Sir, You alone are the author of the greatest wrong to your subjects and to yourself. Instead of reigning in the hearts of your people, instead of commanding their lives and fortunes through the medium of their affections, has not the strength of the crown, whether influence or prerogative, been uniformly exerted, for eleven years together, to support a narrow, pitiful system of

government, which defeats itself, and answers no one purpose of real power, profit, or personal satisfaction to You?—With the greatest unappropriated revenue of any prince in Europe, have we not seen You reduced to such vile, and sordid distresses, as would have conducted any other man to a prison?—With a great military, and the greatest naval power in the known world, have not foreign nations repeatedly insulted You with impunity?—Is it not notorious that the vast revenues, extorted from the labour and industry of your subjects, and given You to do honour to Yourself and to the nation, are dissipated in corrupting their representatives?—Are You a prince of the House of Hanover, and do You exclude all the leading Whig families from your councils?—Do you profess to govern according to Law, and is it consistent with that profession, to impart your confidence and affection to those men only, who, though now perhaps detached from the desperate cause of the Pretender, are marked in this country by an hereditary attachment to high and arbitrary principles of government?—Are you so infatuated as to take the sense of your people from the representation of ministers, or from the shouts of a mob, notoriously hired to surround your coach, or stationed at a theatre?—And if You are, in reality, that public Man,

that King, that Magistrate, which these questions suppose You to be, is it any answer to your people, to say that, among your domestics You are good-humoured,—that to one lady you are faithful;—that to your children You are indulgent?—Sir, the man, who addresses You in these terms is your best friend. He would willingly hazard his life in defence of your title to the crown; and, if *power* be your object, would still shew You how possible it is for a King of England, by the noblest means, to be the most absolute prince in Europe. You have no enemies, Sir, but those, who persuade You to aim at power without right, and who think it flattery to tell You that the character of King dissolves the natural relation between guilt and punishment.”

I cannot conceive that there is a heart so callous, or an understanding so depraved, as to attend to a discourse of this nature, and not to feel the force of it. But where is the man, among those who have access to the closet, resolute and honest enough to deliver it. The liberty of the press is our only resource. It will command an audience when every honest man in the kingdom is excluded. This glorious privilege may be a security to the King, as well as a resource to his people. Had there been no star-chamber, there would have been no rebel-

lion against Charles the First. The constant censure and admonition of the press would have corrected his conduct, prevented a civil war, and saved him from an ignominious death.—I am no friend to the doctrine of precedents exclusive of right, though lawyers often tell us, that whatever has been once done, may lawfully be done again.

I shall conclude this preface with a quotation, applicable to the subject from a foreign writer*, whose essay on the English constitution I beg leave to recommend to the public, as a performance, deep, solid and ingenious.

“ In short, whoever considers what it is, that constitutes the moving principle of what we call great affairs, and the invincible sensibility of man to the opinion of his fellow-creatures, will not hesitate to affirm that, if it were possible for the liberty of the press to exist in a despotic government, and, (what is not less difficult) for it to exist without changing the constitution, this liberty of the press would alone form a counterpoise to the power of the prince. If, for example, in an empire of the East, a sanctuary could be found, which, rendered respectable by the ancient religion of the people, might insure safety to those, who should bring

* *Monsieur de Lohne.*

thither their observations of any kind ; and that, from thence, printed papers should issue, which, under a certain seal, might be equally respected ; and which, in their daily appearance, should examine and freely discuss, the conduct of the Cadis, the Bashaws, the Vizir, the Divan, and the Sultan himself, that would introduce immediately some degree of liberty.”

LETTERS

OF

JUNIUS, &c.

LETTER I.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

21 January, 1769.

THE submission of a free people to the executive authority of government is no more than a compliance with laws, which they themselves have enacted. While the national honour is firmly maintained abroad, and while justice is impartially administered at home, the obedience of the subject will be voluntary, chearful, and I might almost say, unlimited. A generous nation is grateful even for the preservation of its rights, and willingly extends the respect due to the office of a good prince into an affection for his

person. Loyalty, in the heart and understanding of an Englishman, is a rational attachment to the guardian of the laws. Prejudices and passion have sometimes carried it to a criminal length ; and, whatever foreigners may imagine, we know that Englishmen have erred as much in a mistaken zeal for particular persons and families, as they ever did in defence of what they thought most dear and interesting to themselves.

It naturally fills us with resentment, to see such a temper insulted and abused. In reading the history of a free people, whose rights have been invaded, we are interested in their cause. Our own feelings tell us how long they ought to have submitted, and at what moment it would have been treachery to themselves not to have resisted. How much warmer will be our resentment, if experience should bring the fatal example home to ourselves !

The situation of this country is alarming enough to rouse the attention of every man, who pretends to a concern for the public welfare. Appearances justify suspicion ; and, when the safety of a nation is at stake, suspicion is a just ground of enquiry. Let us enter into it with candour and decency. Respect is due to the station of ministers ; and, if a resolution must at last be taken, there is none so likely to be

supported with firmness, as that which has been adopted with moderation.

The ruin or prosperity of a state depends so much upon the administration of its government, that, to be acquainted with the merit of a ministry, we need only observe the condition of the people*. If we see them obedient to the laws, prosperous in their industry, united at home, and respected abroad, we may reasonably presume that their affairs are conducted by men of experience, abilities and virtue. If, on the contrary, we see an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, a rapid decay of trade, dissensions in all parts of the empire, and a total loss of respect in the eyes of foreign powers, we may pronounce, without hesitation, that the government of that country is weak,

* The arrangement of the ministry, at the period in question, was as follows:—Duke of Grafton, first lord of the treasury; Lord North, chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Camden, lord chancellor; Lord Viscount Townshend, lord lieutenant of Ireland; Earl Rochford, minister for the foreign department; Viscount Weymouth, (afterwards Marquis of Bath), for the home department; Earl of Hillsborough, (since Marquis of Downshire), American minister; Earl Gower, lord president of the council; Earl Bristol, lord privy seal; Sir Edw. Hawke, first lord of the admiralty; Viscount Barrington, secretary at war; Marquis of Granby, master gen. of the ordnance; Lord Howe, treasurer of the navy; Mr. De Grey, (afterwards Lord Walsingham), attorney-general; and Mr. Dunning, solicitor-general. EDIT.

distracted, and corrupt. The multitude, in all countries, are patient to a certain point. Ill-usage may rouse their indignation, and hurry them into excesses, but the original fault is in government. Perhaps there never was an instance of a change, in the circumstances and temper of a whole nation, so sudden and extraordinary as that which the misconduct of ministers has, within these very few years, produced in Great Britain. When our gracious sovereign ascended the throne, we were a flourishing and a contented people. If the personal virtues of a king could have insured the happiness of his subjects, the scene could not have altered so entirely as it has done. The idea of uniting all parties, of trying all characters, and of distributing the offices of state by rotation, was gracious and benevolent to an extreme, though it has not yet produced the many salutary effects which were intended by it. To say nothing of the wisdom of such a plan, it undoubtedly arose from an unbounded goodness of heart, in which folly had no share. It was not a capricious partiality to new faces;—it was not a natural turn for low intrigue; nor was it the treacherous amusement of double and triple negotiations. No, Sir, it arose from a continued anxiety, in the purest of all possible hearts, for the general welfare. Unfortunately for us, the event has not been an-

swerable to the design. After a rapid succession of changes, we are reduced to that state, which hardly any change can mend. Yet there is no extremity of distress, which of itself ought to reduce a great nation to despair. It is not the disorder, but the physician ;—it is not a casual concurrence of calamitous circumstances, it is the pernicious hand of government, which alone can make a whole people desperate.

Without much political sagacity, or any extraordinary depth of observation, we need only mark how the principal departments of the state are bestowed, and look no farther for the true cause of every mischief that befalls us.

The finances of a nation, sinking under its debts and expences, are committed to a young nobleman already ruined by play*. Introduced to act under the auspices of Lord Chatham, and left at the head of affairs by that nobleman's retreat, he became minister by accident ; but deserting the principles and professions, which gave

* The Duke of Grafton took the office of Secretary of State, with an engagement to support the Marquis of Rockingham's administration. He resigned however in a little time, under pretence that he could not act without Lord Chatham, nor bear to see Mr. Wilkes abandoned ; but that under Lord Chatham he would act in *any* office. This was the signal of Lord Rockingham's dismissal. When Lord Chatham came in, the Duke got possession of the Treasury. Reader, mark the consequence !

him a moment's popularity, we see him, from every honourable engagement to the public, an apostate by design. As for business, the world yet knows nothing of his talents or resolution ; unless a wayward, wavering inconsistency be a mark of genius, and caprice a demonstration of spirit. It may be said perhaps, that it is his Grace's province, as surely it is his passion, rather to distribute than to save the public money, and that while Lord North is Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Treasury may be as thoughtless and extravagant as he pleases. I hope however he will not rely too much on the fertility of Lord North's genius for finance. His lordship is yet to give us the first proof of his abilities : It may be candid to suppose that he has hitherto voluntarily concealed his talents ; intending perhaps to astonish the world, when we least expect it, with a knowledge of trade, a choice of expedients, and a depth of resources equal to the necessities, and far beyond the hopes of his country. He must now exert the whole power of his capacity, if he would wish us to forget, that, since he has been in office, no plan has been formed, no system adhered to, nor any one important measure adopted for the relief of public credit. If his plan for the service of the current year be not irrevocably fixed on, let me warn him to think

seriously of consequences before he ventures to increase the public debt *. Outraged and oppressed as we are, this nation will not bear, after a six years' peace, to see new millions borrowed, without an eventual diminution of debt, or reduction of interest. The attempt might rouse a spirit of resentment, which might reach beyond the sacrifice of a minister. As to the debt upon the civil list, the people of England expect that it will not be paid without a strict enquiry how it was incurred. If it must be paid by parliament, let me advise the Chancellor of the Exchequer to think of some better expedient than a lottery. To support an expensive war, or in circumstances of absolute necessity, a lottery may perhaps be allowable; but, besides that it is at all times the very worst way of raising money upon the people, I think it ill becomes the Royal dignity to have the debts of a King provided for, like the repairs of a country bridge, or a decayed hospital. The management of the King's affairs in the House of Commons cannot be more disgraced than it has been. A leading minister repeatedly called down for absolute ignorance;—ridiculous motions ridiculously withdrawn;—deliberate plans

* The public debt at the conclusion of the Peace in 1763, amounted to £148,377,618. EDIT.

disconcerted*, and a week's preparation of graceful oratory lost in a moment, give us some, though not adequate idea of Lord North's parliamentary abilities and influence. Yet before he had the misfortune of being Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was neither an object of derision to his enemies, nor of melancholy pity to his friends.

A series of inconsistent measures had alienated the colonies from their duty as subjects, and from their natural affection to their common country. When Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the Treasury, he felt the impossibility of Great Britain's supporting such an establishment as her former successes had made indispensable, and at the same time of giving any sensible relief to foreign trade, and to the weight of the public debt. He thought it equitable that those parts of the empire, which had benefited most by the expences of the war, should contribute something to the expences of the peace, and he had no doubt of the constitutional right vested in parliament to raise that contribution. But, unfortunately for his country, Mr. Grenville was at any rate to be distressed because he was minister, and Mr. Pitt† and Lord Camden were

* This happened frequently to poor Lord North.

† Yet JUNIUS has been called the partizan of Lord Chatham!

to be the patrons of America, because they were in opposition. Their declarations gave spirit and argument to the colonies, and while perhaps they meant no more than the ruin of a minister, they in effect divided one half of the empire from the other.

Under one administration the stamp act is made; under the second it is repealed; under the third, in spite of all experience, a new mode of taxing the colonies is invented, and a question revived, which ought to have been buried in oblivion. In these circumstances a new office is established for the business of the plantations, and the Earl of Hillsborough called forth, at a most critical season, to govern America*. The choice at least announced to us a man of superior capacity and knowledge. Whether he be so or not, let his dispatches as far as they have appeared, let his measures as far as they have operated, determine for him. In the former we

* Upon the death of Queen Anne a third secretaryship, antecedently unknown to the constitution, was created, professing to be for the superintendence of Scotland, which terminated upon the cessation of the rebellion. In 1768, for the purpose of finding a post for the Earl of Hillsborough, the office of third Secretary was revived; and Scotland having no peculiar demand for his talents, he was denominated Secretary for America. For the rest see our author's preceding letters, subscribed *Atticus* and *Lucius*, in the Miscellaneous Collection.

have seen strong assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent censures without dignity or moderation ; but neither correctness in the composition, nor judgment in the design. As for his measures, let it be remembered, that he was called upon to conciliate and unite ; and that, when he entered into office, the most refractory of the colonies were still disposed to proceed by the constitutional methods of petition and remonstrance. Since that period they have been driven into excesses little short of rebellion. Petitions have been hindered from reaching the throne ; and the continuance of one of the principal assemblies rested upon an arbitrary condition*, which, considering the temper they were in, it was impossible they should comply with, and which would have availed nothing as to the general question, if it had been complied with. So violent, and I believe I may call it so unconstitutional, an exertion of the prerogative, to say nothing of the weak, injudicious terms in which it was conveyed, gives us as humble an opinion of his lordship's capacity, as it does of his temper and moderation. While we are at peace with other nations, our military force may perhaps be spared to support the Earl of Hillsborough's measures in America. Whenever

* That they should retract one of their resolutions, and erase the entry of it.

that force shall be necessarily withdrawn or diminished, the dismissal of such a minister will neither console us for his imprudence, nor remove the settled resentment of a people, who, complaining of an act of the legislature, are outraged by an unwarrantable stretch of prerogative, and, supporting their claims by argument, are insulted with declamation.

Drawing lots would be a prudent and reasonable method of appointing the officers of state, compared to a late disposition of the secretary's office. Lord Rochford was acquainted with the affairs and temper of the southern courts: Lord Weymouth was equally qualified for either department*. By what unaccountable caprice has it happened, that the latter, who pretends to no experience whatsoever, is removed to the most important of the two departments, and the former by preference placed in an office, where his experience can be of no use to him? Lord Weymouth had distinguished himself in his first employment by a spirited, if not judicious conduct. He had animated the civil magistrate beyond the tone of civil authority, and had directed the operations of the army to more than military exe-

* It was pretended that the Earl of Rochford, while ambassador in France, had quarrelled with the duke of Choiseuil, and that therefore he was appointed to the Northern department, out of compliment to the French minister.

cution. Recovered from the errors of his youth, from the distraction of play, and the bewitching smiles of Burgundy, behold him exerting the whole strength of his clear, unclouded faculties, in the service of the crown. It was not the heat of midnight excesses, nor ignorance of the laws, nor the furious spirit of the house of Bedford: No, Sir, when this respectable minister interposed his authority between the magistrate and the people, and signed the mandate, on which, for aught he knew, the lives of thousands depended, he did it from the deliberate motion of his heart, supported by the best of his judgment.

It has lately been a fashion to pay a compliment to the bravery and generosity of the Commander in Chief*, at the expence of his understanding. They who love him least make no question of his courage, while his friends dwell chiefly on the facility of his disposition. Admitting him to be as brave as a total absence of all feeling and reflection can make him, let us see what sort of merit he derives from the remainder of his character. If it be generosity to accumulate in his own person and family a number of lucrative employments; to provide, at the public expence, for every creature that bears the name of Manners; and, neglecting the merit

* The late Lord Granby.

and services of the rest of the army, to heap promotions upon his favourites and dependants, the present Commander in Chief is the most generous man alive. Nature has been sparing of her gifts to this noble lord; but where birth and fortune are united, we expect the noble pride and independence of a man of spirit, not the servile, humiliating complaisance of a courtier. As to the goodness of his heart, if a proof of it be taken from the facility of never refusing, what conclusion shall we draw from the indecency of never performing? And if the discipline of the army be in any degree preserved, what thanks are due to a man, whose cares, notoriously confined to filling up vacancies, have degraded the office of Commander in Chief to a broker of commissions!

With respect to the navy, I shall only say, that this country is so highly indebted to Sir Edward Hawke, that no expence should be spared to secure to him an honourable and affluent retreat.

The pure and impartial administration of justice is perhaps the firmest bond to secure a cheerful submission of the people, and to engage their affections to government. It is not sufficient that questions of private right and wrong are justly decided, nor that judges are superior to the vileness of pecuniary corruption. Jefferies himself, when

the court had no interest, was an upright judge, A court of justice may be subject to another sort of bias, more important and pernicious, as it reaches beyond the interest of individuals, and affects the whole community. A judge under the influence of government, may be honest enough in the decision of private causes, yet a traitor to the public. When a victim is marked out by the ministry, this judge will offer himself to perform the sacrifice. He will not scruple to prostitute his dignity, and betray the sanctity of his office, whenever an arbitrary point is to be carried for government, or the resentment of a court to be gratified.

These principles and proceedings, odious and contemptible as they are, in effect are no less injudicious. A wise and generous people are roused by every appearance of oppressive, unconstitutional measures, whether those measures are supported openly by the power of government, or masked under the forms of a court of justice. Prudence and self-preservation will oblige the most moderate dispositions to make common cause, even with a man whose conduct they censure, if they see him persecuted in a way, which the real spirit of the laws will not justify*. The facts, on which these remarks

* Mr. Wilkes. EDIT.

are founded, are too notorious to require an application.

This, Sir, is the detail. In one view behold a nation overwhelmed with debt; her revenues wasted; her trade declining; the affections of her colonies alienated; the duty of the magistrate transferred to the soldiery; a gallant army, which never fought unwillingly but against their fellow subjects, mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and spirit; and, in the last instance, the administration of justice become odious and suspected to the whole body of the people. This deplorable scene admits but of one addition—that we are governed by counsels, from which a reasonable man can expect no remedy but poison, no relief but death.

If, by the immediate interposition of Providence, it were possible for us to escape a crisis so full of terror and despair, posterity will not believe the history of the present times. They will either conclude that our distresses were imaginary, or that we had the good fortune to be governed by men of acknowledged integrity and wisdom: they will not believe it possible that their ancestors could have survived, or recovered from so desperate a condition, while a Duke of Grafton was Prime Minister, a Lord North Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer, a Weymouth and a Hillsborough Secretaries of State, a Granby Commander in Chief, and a Mansfield chief criminal judge of the kingdom.

JUNIUS.

LETTER II.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

26 January, 1769.

THE kingdom swarms with such numbers of felonious robbers of private character and virtue, that no honest or good man is safe; especially as these cowardly, base assassins stab in the dark, without having the courage to sign their real names to their malevolent and wicked productions. A writer, who signs himself JUNIUS, in the Public Advertiser of the 21st instant, opens the deplorable situation of this country in a very affecting manner; with a pompous parade of his candour and decency, he tells us, that we see dissensions in all parts of the empire; an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, and a total loss of respect towards us in the eyes of foreign powers. But this writer, with all his boasted candour, has not told us the real cause of the evils he so pathetically enumerates. I shall take the liberty to explain the cause for

him. JUNIUS, and such writers as himself, occasion all the mischief complained of, by falsely and maliciously traducing the best characters in the kingdom. For when our deluded people at home, and foreigners abroad, read the poisonous and inflammatory libels that are daily published with impunity, to vilify those who are any way distinguished by their good qualities and eminent virtues; when they find no notice taken of, or reply given to these slanderous tongues and pens, their conclusion is, that both the ministers and the nation have been fairly described; and they act accordingly. I think it therefore the duty of every good citizen to stand forth, and endeavour to undeceive the public, when the vilest arts are made use of to defame and blacken the brightest characters among us. An eminent author affirms it to be almost as criminal to hear a worthy man traduced, without attempting his justification, as to be the author of the calumny against him. For my own part, I think it a sort of misprision of treason against society. No man therefore who knows Lord Granby, can possibly hear so good and great a character most vilely abused, without a warm and just indignation against this JUNIUS, this high-priest of envy, malice, and all uncharitableness, who has endeavoured to sacrifice our beloved commander in chief at the altars of his horrid deities. Nor

is the injury done to his lordship alone, but to the whole nation, which may too soon feel the contempt, and consequently the attacks of our late enemies, if they can be induced to believe that the person on whom the safety of these kingdoms so much depends, is unequal to his high station, and destitute of those qualities which form a good general. One would have thought that his lordship's service in the cause of his country, from the battle of Culloden to his most glorious conclusion of the late war, might have entitled him to common respect and decency at least; but this uncandid, indecent writer has gone so far as to turn one of the most amiable men of the age into a stupid, unfeeling, and senseless being; possessed indeed of a personal courage, but void of those essential qualities which distinguish the commander from the common soldier.

A very long, uninterrupted, impartial, I will add, a most disinterested friendship with Lord Granby, gives me the right to affirm, that all JUNIUS's assertions are false and scandalous. Lord Granby's courage, though of the brightest and most ardent kind, is among the lowest of his numerous good qualities; he was formed to excel in war by nature's liberality to his mind as well as person. Educated and instructed by his most noble father, and a most spirited as well

as excellent scholar, the present bishop of Bangor*, he was trained to the nicest sense of honour, and to the truest and noblest sort of pride, that of never doing or suffering a mean action. A sincere love and attachment to his king and country, and to their glory, first impelled him to the field, where he never gained aught but honour. He impaired, through his bounty, his own fortune; for his bounty, which this writer would in vain depreciate, is founded upon the noblest of the human affections, it flows from a heart melting to goodness from the most refined humanity. Can a man, who is described as unfeeling, and void of reflection, be constantly employed in seeking proper objects on whom to exercise those glorious virtues of compassion and generosity? The distressed officer, the soldier, the widow, the orphan, and a long list besides, know that vanity has no share in his frequent donations; he gives, because he feels their distresses. Nor has he ever been rapacious with one hand to be bountiful with the other; yet this uncandid JUNIUS would insinuate, that the dignity of the commander in chief is depraved into the base office of a commission broker; that is, Lord Granby bargains for the sale of commissions; for it must have this

* Dr. John Ewer. EDIT.

meaning, if it has any at all. But where is the man living who can justly charge his lordship with such mean practices? Why does not JUNIUS produce him? JUNIUS knows that he has no other means of wounding this hero, than from some missile weapon, shot from an obscure corner: He seeks, as all such defamatory writers do,

———*spargere voces*

In vulgum ambiguus———

to raise suspicion in the minds of the people. But I hope that my countrymen will be no longer imposed upon by artful and designing men, or by wretches, who, bankrupts in business, in fame, and in fortune, mean nothing more than to involve this country in the same common ruin with themselves. Hence it is, that they are constantly aiming their dark and too often fatal weapons against those who stand forth as the bulwark of our national safety. Lord Granby was too conspicuous a mark not to be their object. He is next attacked for being unfaithful to his promises and engagements: Where are JUNIUS's proofs? Although I could give some instances, where a breach of promise would be a virtue, especially in the case of those who would pervert the open, unsuspecting moments of convivial mirth, into sly, insidious applications for preferment, or party systems,

and would endeavour to surprise a good man, who cannot bear to see any one leave him dissatisfied, into unguarded promises. Lord Granby's attention to his own family and relations is called selfish. Had he not attended to them, when fair and just opportunities presented themselves, I should have thought him unfeeling, and void of reflection indeed. How are any man's friends or relations to be provided for, but from the influence and protection of the patron? It is unfair to suppose that Lord Granby's friends have not as much merit as the friends of any other great man: If he is generous at the public expence, as JUNIUS invidiously calls it, the public is at no more expence for his lordship's friends, than it would be if any other set of men possessed those offices. The charge is ridiculous!

The last charge against Lord Granby is of a most serious and alarming nature indeed. JUNIUS asserts, that the army is mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and spirit. The present condition of the army gives the directest lie to his assertions. It was never upon a more respectable footing with regard to discipline, and all the essentials that can form good soldiers. Lord Ligonier delivered a firm and noble palladium of our safeties into Lord Granby's hands, who has kept it

in the same good order in which he received it. The strictest care has been taken to fill up the vacant commissions, with such gentlemen as have the glory of their ancestors to support, as well as their own, and are doubly bound to the cause of their king and country, from motives of private property, as well as public spirit. The adjutant-general*, who has the immediate care of the troops after Lord Granby, is an officer who would do great honour to any service in Europe, for his correct arrangements, good sense and discernment upon all occasions, and for a punctuality and precision which give the most entire satisfaction to all who are obliged to consult him. The reviewing generals, who inspect the army twice a year, have been selected with the greatest care, and have answered the important trust reposed in them in the most laudable manner. Their reports of the condition of the army are much more to be credited than those of JUNIUS, whom I do advise to atone for his shameful aspersions, by asking pardon of Lord Granby, and the whole kingdom, whom he has offended by his abominable scandals. In short, to turn JUNIUS's own battery against him, I must assert, in his own words, "that he has given strong assertions without proof, declama-

* Harvey. EDIT.

tion without argument, and violent censures without dignity or moderation.”

WILLIAM DRAPER*.

* As a correspondent of JUNIUS in this and several other letters, the following short notice of Sir William Draper cannot be unacceptable to the reader. We take it by Mr. Chalmers's permission from his Appendix to the Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the supposititious Shakespeare papers, p. 80.

“ Sir William, as a scholar, had been bred at Eton, and King's college, Cambridge; but, he chose the sword, for his profession. In India, he ranked with those famous warriors Clive, and Laurence. In 1761, he acted at Bellisle, as a Brigadier. In 1763, he commanded the troops who conquered Manilla, which place was saved from plunder, by the promise of a ransom, that was never paid. His first appearance, as an able writer, was in his clear refutation of the objections of the Spanish court. His services were rewarded with the command of the sixteenth regiment of foot, which he resigned to Colonel Gisborne, for his half-pay of 200*l*. Irish: This common transaction furnished JUNIUS with many a sarcasm. Sir William had scarcely closed his contest with that formidable opponent, when he had the misfortune to lose his wife, who died on the 1st of September, 1769. As he was foiled, he was, no doubt, mortified. And he set out, in October of that year, to make the tour of the Northern Colonies, which had now become objects of notice, and scenes of travel. He arrived at Charlestown, South Carolina, in January, 1770; and travelling northward, he arrived, during the summer of that year, in Maryland; where he was received with that hospitality which she always paid to strangers, and with the attentions, that were due to the merit of such a visitor.

“ From Maryland, Sir William passed on to New York, where he married Miss De Lanoy, a lady of great connections there,
and

LETTER III.

TO SIR WILLIAM DRAPER, KNIGHT OF THE BATH.

SIR,

7 February, 1769.

THE defence of Lord Granby does honour to the goodness of your heart. You feel, as you ought to do, for the reputation of your friend, and you express yourself in the warmest language of the passions. In any other cause, I doubt not, you would have cautiously weighed the consequences of committing your name to the licentious discourses and malignant opinions of the world. But here, I presume, you thought it would be a breach of friendship to lose one moment in consulting your understanding ; as if an appeal to the public were no more than a military *coup de main*, where a brave man has no rules to follow, but the dictates of his courage. Touched with your generosity, I freely forgive the excesses into which it has led you ; and, far from resenting those terms of reproach, which, considering that you are an advocate for decorum, you have heaped upon me rather too liberally, I place them to

and agreeable endowments, who died in 1778 ; leaving him a daughter. In 1779, he was appointed Lieutenant-governor of Minorca ; a trust, which, however discharged, ended unhappily. He died at Bath, on the 8th of January, 1787." EDIT.

the account of an honest unreflecting indignation, in which your cooler judgment and natural politeness had no concern.) I approve of the spirit with which you have given your name to the public ; and, if it were a proof of any thing but spirit, I should have thought myself bound to follow your example. I should have hoped that even *my* name might carry some authority with it*, if I had not seen how very little weight or consideration a printed paper receives even from the respectable signature of Sir William Draper.

You begin with a general assertion, that writers, such as I am, are the real cause of all the public evils we complain of. And do you really think, Sir William, that the licentious pen of a political writer is able to produce such important effects? A little calm reflection might have shewn you, that national calamities do not arise from the description, but from the real character and conduct of ministers. To have supported your assertion, you should have proved that the present ministry are unquestionably the *best and brightest* characters of the kingdom :

* This expression will receive some farther light from a feature of himself incidentally introduced by the author in a letter omitted in his own edition, but inserted in the present work, Miscellaneous Letter, No. LIV. as also from other views of his sentiments and conduct as casually evinced in the Private Letters. EDIT.

and that, if the affections of the colonies have been alienated, if Corsica* has been shamefully abandoned, if commerce languishes, if public credit is threatened with a new debt, and your own Manilla ransom most dishonourably given up†, it has all been owing to the malice of po-

* Corsica, in modern times, was first subjugated by the Genoese, who made use of so much insolence and oppression, as to induce the natives to throw off the yoke, and endeavour to recover their independence. The contest was long and severe, and the Corsicans were reduced to beggary in the generous struggle. Nieuhoff and Paoli chiefly figured as leaders of the Corsicans, the first of whom was actually elected king, but could not maintain his throne against the invaders. The Corsicans applied to many foreign courts for assistance, and among the rest to Great Britain; and Lord Shelburne (afterwards Marquis of Lansdown) was one of the warmest supporters of their cause, and most desirous, when in administration, to engage in it. But his colleagues opposed him, and the cause of Corsica was abandoned, though the citizens of London contributed largely to its support. Yet the Genoese could not totally subdue it; and in consequence they sold it to France to be subdued by the French arms: and the tyranny which was at first exercised over it by the Genoese, it was now doomed to suffer from the French. Reader, mark the result!—Corsica is at this moment reaping an ample revenge: for through the medium of Bonaparte she is now loading both France and Genoa with as severe a tyranny as herself ever submitted to from either. EDIT.

† In the preceding war with Spain, Sir William (then Col. Draper) had commanded an expedition against the Spanish settlements in the Philippine Isles. It succeeded completely; and the capital of Manilla was taken by assault. Yet the generous conquerors, instead of plundering the city, consented to accept
for

litical writers, who will not suffer the best and brightest of characters (meaning still the present ministry) to take a single right step for the honour or interest of the nation. But it seems you were a little tender of coming to particulars. Your conscience insinuated to you, that it would be prudent to leave the characters of Grafton, North, Hillsborough, Weymouth, and Mansfield, to shift for themselves; and truly, Sir William, the part you *have* undertaken is at least as much as you are equal to.

Without disputing Lord Granby's courage, we are yet to learn in what articles of military knowledge nature has been so very liberal to his mind. If you have served with him, you ought to have pointed out some instances of able disposition and well-concerted enterprize, which might fairly be attributed to his capacity as a

for the value of the spoil, bills drawn upon the Spanish government adequate to its supposed amount. These bills the Spanish government undertook to pay, but dishonourably forfeited its word on their becoming due. Sir William Draper, on his return from India, repeatedly pressed the English minister to interpose upon the subject, on behalf of himself and his fellow-soldiers. The English minister however did not interpose: Draper was personally rewarded by an election into the order of the Bath, in conjunction with certain pecuniary emoluments referred to in this correspondence; while his colleague, Admiral Cornish, together with the soldiers and sailors under their commands were suffered to live and die altogether without redress. EDIT.

general. It is you, Sir William, who make your friend appear awkward and ridiculous, by giving him a laced suit of tawdry qualifications, which nature never intended him to wear.

You say, he has acquired nothing but honour in the field. Is the Ordnance nothing? Are the Blues nothing? Is the command of the army, with all the patronage annexed to it, nothing? Where he got these *nothings* I know not; but you at least ought to have told us where he deserved them.

As to his bounty, compassion, &c. it would have been but little to the purpose, though you had proved all that you have asserted. I meddle with nothing but his character as commander in chief; and though I acquit him of the baseness of selling commissions, I still assert that his military cares have never extended beyond the disposal of vacancies; and I am justified by the complaints of the whole army, when I say that, in this distribution, he consults nothing but parliamentary interests, or the gratification of his immediate dependants. As to his servile submission to the reigning ministry, let me ask, whether he did not desert the cause of the whole army, when he suffered Sir Jeffery Amherst to be sacrificed*, and what share he had in recalling

* See upon this subject our author's Miscellaneous Letters subscribed Lucius, and particularly that of Atticus, Letter LI.

that officer to the service? Did he not betray the just interests of the army, in permitting Lord Percy to have a regiment? And does he not at this moment give up all character and dignity as a gentleman, in receding from his own repeated declarations in favour of Mr. Wilkes?

In the two next articles I think we are agreed. You candidly admit, that he often makes such promises as it is a virtue in him to violate, and that no man is more assiduous to provide for his relations at the public expence. I did not urge the last as an absolute vice in his disposition, but to prove that a *careless disinterested spirit* is no part of his character; and as to the other, I desire it may be remembered, that *I never descended to the indecency of inquiring into his convivial hours*. It is you, Sir William Draper, who have taken pains to represent your friend in the character of a drunken landlord, who deals out his promises as liberally as his liquor, and will suffer no man to leave his table either sorrowful or sober. None but an intimate friend, who must frequently have seen him in these unhappy, disgraceful moments, could have described him so well.

The last charge, of the neglect of the army, is indeed the most material of all. I am sorry to tell you, Sir William, that, in this article, your first fact is false; and as there is nothing more painful to me than to give a direct contra-

diction to a gentleman of your appearance, I could wish that, in your future publications, you would pay a greater attention to the truth of your premises, before you suffer your genius to hurry you to a conclusion. Lord Ligonier *did not* deliver the army (which you, in classical language, are pleased to call a palladium) into Lord Granby's hands. It was taken from him much against his inclination, some two or three years before Lord Granby was commander in chief. As to the state of the army, I should be glad to know where you have received your intelligence. Was it in the rooms at Bath, or at your retreat at Clifton? The reports of reviewing generals comprehend only a few regiments in England, which, as they are immediately under the royal inspection, are perhaps in some tolerable order. But do you know any thing of the troops in the West-Indies, the Mediterranean, and North America, to say nothing of a whole army absolutely ruined in Ireland? Inquire a little into facts, Sir William, before you publish your next panegyric upon Lord Granby, and believe me, you will find there is a fault at head-quarters, which even the acknowledged care and abilities of the adjutant-general cannot correct*.

Permit me now, Sir William, to address my-

* Adjutant General Harvey. EDIT.

self personally to you, by way of thanks for the honour of your correspondence. You are by no means undeserving of notice ; and it may be of consequence even to Lord Granby to have it determined, whether or no the man who has praised him so lavishly, be himself deserving of praise. When you returned to Europe, you zealously undertook the cause of that gallant army, by whose bravery at Manilla your own fortune had been established. You complained, you threatened, you even appealed to the public in print. By what accident did it happen, that in the midst of all this bustle, and all these clamours for justice to your injured troops, the name of the Manilla ransom was suddenly buried in a profound, and, since that time, an uninterrupted silence? Did the ministry suggest any motives to you, strong enough to tempt a man of honour, to desert and betray the cause of his fellow-soldiers? Was it that blushing ribband, which is now the perpetual ornament of your person? Or was it that regiment, which you afterwards (a thing unprecedented among soldiers) sold to colonel Gisborne? Or was it that government, the full pay of which you are contented to hold, with the half-pay of an Irish colonel? And do you now, after a retreat not very like that of Scipio, presume to intrude yourself, unthought-of, uncalled-for, upon the pa-

tience of the public? Are your flatteries of the commander in chief directed to another regiment, which you may again dispose of on the same honourable terms? We know your prudence, Sir William, and I should be sorry to stop your preferment.

JUNIUS.

LETTER IV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

17 February, 1769.

I RECEIVED JUNIUS's favour last night; he is determined to keep his advantage by the help of his mask; it is an excellent protection, it has saved many a man from an untimely end. But whenever he will be honest enough to lay it aside, avow himself, and produce the face which has so long lurked behind it, the world will be able to judge of his motives for writing such infamous invectives. His real name will discover his freedom and independency, or his servility to a faction. Disappointed ambition, resentment for defeated hopes, and desire of revenge, assume but too often the appearance of public spirit; but be his designs wicked or charitable, JUNIUS should learn that it is possible to con-

demn measures, without a barbarous and criminal outrage against men. JUNIUS delights to mangle carcasses with a hatchet; his language and instrument have a great connexion with Clare-market, and, to do him justice, he handles his weapon most admirably. One would imagine he had been taught to throw it by the savages of America. It is therefore high time for me to step in once more to shield my friend from this merciless weapon, although I may be wounded in the attempt. But I must first ask JUNIUS, by what forced analogy and construction the moments of convivial mirth are made to signify indecency, a violation of engagements, a drunken landlord, and a desire that every one in company should be drunk likewise *? He must have

* Whether such a conclusion were forced or natural from Sir William's description of his friend, JUNIUS, it seems, was not the only person who deduced it, if we may judge from a dispute the Knight of the Bath was involved in upon this very subject, with two other invisible correspondents, of whom the one signed himself *Neocles*, and the other the Ghost, and who wrote in the same newspaper (*The Public Advertiser*). To the first correspondent, Sir William replies as follows.

SIR,

Clifton, Feb. 13, 1769.

I must beg the favour of *Neocles* not to believe that I have described my friend to be frequently in a state of ebriety. Had I done so, I might indeed be justly accused of being insufficient to support his cause.

* * * * *

If

culled all the flowers of St. Giles's and Billingsgate to have produced such a piece of oratory. Here the hatchet descends with tenfold vengeance ; but, alas ! it hurts no one but its mas-

If *Neocles* is an officer, or a man of business, he must know that a commander in chief, or a minister of state, from a multiplicity of applications, cannot trust their memories with the whole of them : minutes and memorandums are necessary : when business is over, these are left with their secretaries, or in their bureaus. Should therefore any insidious man, either at dinner, or after dinner, importune a great person to give him some preferment, which, from the want of these minutes, he might not then recollect to be engaged, and thus obtain a promise of it ; yet, if it should appear from the inspection of these memorandums afterwards, that such preferment was pre-engaged, I must again repeat, that in such a case it would be a virtue to break the unguarded promise made at dinner, or in convivial mirth, and to adhere to the first engagement. These things have happened, do happen, and may happen again, to the most temperate men living.

I am

Neocles most humble servant,

W. D.

The fact is, that Lord Granby, and his friend Sir William, appear to have been both jolly companions. Mr. Campbell says of the latter—that his favorite wine was Burgundy—the bewitching smiles of which had an irresistible influence on his heart. *Life of Boyd*, p. 186. JUNIUS seems to have appealed to a known fact, as well as to an unguarded expression of the pen. Sir William's answer to the *Ghost* occurs in the same newspaper, Mar. 2, 1769.

" SIR,

Clifton, Feb. 24.

" Sir W. D. presents his compliments to the *Ghost*, and hopes, that when he shall please to revisit us, the cock may not
crow

ter! For JUNIUS must not think to put words into my mouth, that seem too foul even for his own.

My friend's political engagements I know not,

crow too suddenly, and warn him hence, before he has sufficiently considered what Sir W. says with regard to anonymous writers. They are not condemned by him merely for being anonymous, but as they are defamatory and wicked; as they act as incendiaries, as they *privily* shoot at those who are *true of heart*, and as they basely *stab* in the *dark*. When they are thus guilty, they are worthy of the severest censures. A very fine writer, Mr. Addison, has not stuck to rank them with murderers and assassins. It were to be wished, that all such writers would read the paper upon this subject, No. 451, vol. 6. Sir W. hopes likewise, that the Ghost will not believe that flattery, or gladiatorial vanity, or any desire of the golden cup, or its contents, called him forth.

"He stood forth upon a principle that no honest man should be ashamed of, upon the principle of Horace, who nobly and truly said,

——— *Annicum*

Qui non defendit alio culpante—Hic niger est;

more especially when that friend is most unjustly attacked. He thinks that a real signature is better than a fictitious one, as the knowledge of the man is the surest guide to form a judgment of his motives for writing. He has indeed the *vanity* to think that no man living writes from more *disinterested* motives than himself, having studiously quitted what is called *the great world*, and all its *pursuits*. But he is not so totally lost to the sense of worldly knowledge, as not to foresee that the many distractions of this poor afflicted country must end in its ruin if some salutary means are not speedily taken to prevent it. This kingdom abounds with great men, capable of advising and of acting in the most efficacious manner for the *public good*;

so cannot pretend to explain them; or assert their consistency. I know not whether JUNIUS be considerable enough to belong to any party; if he should be so, can he affirm that he has

but unanimity must be the basis. If they can be prevailed upon to *forgive*, to *forget*, to *unite*, sincerely, there is no occasion to *despair* of the common wealth. Sir W. cannot subscribe to the Ghost's opinion, that the *vox populi* is the *vox Dei*. It would be too irreverent, it would vainly attempt to convert the immutable Deity into a most changeable and capricious being; nor would he *take even the Ghost's word*, or that of the greatest lawyer in the kingdom, should he affirm it. The voice of the people was heard loudly and strongly in favour of our great minister, Mr. Pitt. In this one instance it was just; but was it formerly less strong, less loud, in the favour of Titus Oates, the most abandoned of men? the voice of the people, and the voice of truth, are not always together: the *latter* must *descend* from *above*, the former but too often arises from *below*. In plain English, it generally comes out of the barrel and the cellar, as some honest bottle-men know full well."

In the following letter, inserted in the Public Advertiser about the same time, Lord Granby appears to have found a fuller, if not an abler advocate, than even his friend Sir William. It has various claims for an introduction in the present place; but chiefly, because JUNIUS himself, in a postscript to the last letter (inserted in the copy that appeared in the Public Advertiser, but omitted in his own edition) notices it with a view of answering it; although from a second resolution, not to reply under this signature to anonymous addresses, he never fulfilled his intention. The postscript is as follows:

"I had determined to leave the commander in chief in the quiet enjoyment of his friend and his bottle; but Titus deserves an answer, and *shall have* a complete one."

always adhered to one set of men and measures? Is he sure that he has never sided with those whom he was first hired to abuse? Has he never abused those he was hired to praise? To say the

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

LONG and impatiently have I waited to see justice done to a much injured character. From the goodness of the cause, my expectations were great, but I have been cruelly disappointed. To enter the lists against such an able antagonist upon equal terms, would be the height of presumption; but truth, plainly and simply told, I doubt not, will shew itself superior to falsehood, though dressed in the most beautiful language of the elegant JUNIUS.

Unprejudiced by party, unbiassed by faction, it grieves me exceedingly, that a spirit of licentiousness should be able so far to influence some of the greatest geniuses of this nation. Is it possible to see without concern some of the most respectable names, and the most unexceptionable characters, so undeservedly attacked, and detraction conveyed in the most persuasive language, from the masterly pen of an accomplished writer? When every man of superior talents ought to exert himself to the utmost to support the dignity of government, how unfortunate is it that the greatest abilities are made subservient to a factious spirit, totally subversive of all the principles of social happiness! But the times are become so unpardonably licentious, that the greater the name, the higher the rank, the more dignified the character, and the more exalted the station, the more they become the objects of envy, while the envenomed darts of illiberal abuse are pointed by the sons of sedition from every quarter, with unparalleled malice and unrelenting fury.

Subordination and subjection is the province of some; superiority and command undoubtedly belongs to the station of others. Obedience to the laws, respect for the magistrate, and

truth, most men's politics sit much too loosely about them. But as my friend's military character was the chief object that engaged me in this controversy, to that I shall return.

duty to superiors, are essentially necessary in every well governed state. Every attempt then to make the laws, or the magistrate, be less respected, and every endeavour to break the chain of subordination, so necessary in civil society, tends to the destruction of government, and to the introduction of anarchy and confusion.

That factious, turbulent, licentious minds, should make this their constant employment, is not to be wondered at; but people of sense, judgment, and abilities, to make it their study, is amazing indeed!—What end can it answer? What purpose can it serve? If our superiors should do any thing contrary to the laws, or prejudicial to the interests of this country; if they should use any means to encroach upon our liberties, to deprive us of our privileges, or to subvert that happy form of government which we now enjoy; surely there are other means of redress left, besides calumniating magistrates, judges, generals, and ministers. Though party prejudice, and the influence of passion, may carry even men of sense to extraordinary lengths sometimes, yet I am convinced, that a cool dispassionate moment's reflection, will point out more constitutional remedies, for all our misfortunes, than a factious appeal to a giddy, unthinking, uninformed mob: and very little demonstration will be necessary to make it evident, that the unbounded abuse of dignities tends to make the bulk of the people trample on all law, despise subordination, and destroy that government from which they claim protection.

JUNIUS is possessed of superior abilities; he has a flow of fine language at his command, his composition is masterly, his stile elegant, and the arrangement of his words is beautiful and harmonious. What excellent purposes might these talents

JUNIUS asks what instances my friend has given of his military skill and capacity as a general? When and where he gained his honour? When he deserved his emoluments? The united

talents serve, were they employed for the service of his country! What a pity they should be prostituted to depreciate government, and made subservient to such unphilosophic passions! unworthy of the man—unworthy of the pen of the accomplished JUNIUS!—Not one of the king's servants escapes him; but (for what cause heaven knows) his most pointed shafts have been directed against the Commander in Chief, who is, perhaps, the most unexceptionable character in the present administration. I was in hopes Sir W. Draper would have continued a defence so worthy of his abilities; but I imagine he is so busy at present about building his temple to Concord, and perhaps so taken up with his new friend, Mr. Wilkes, that he has forgot the correspondence he gave rise to, where Lord Granby is attacked in a most unpardonable manner; where he has been insulted as a soldier, despised as a general, his generosity laughed at, and even his private hours of social relaxation have been most ungenerously held up as an object of ridicule to the public eye.—For shame, JUNIUS!—this was not well done.—Whatever censure may be due to a man's public character, it is unmanly—it is cruel—it is unjust, to bring the secrets of social amusement, and the unguarded hour of convivial enjoyment, to be held out as an object of censure to the unfriendly world!—Have you a spark of generosity left, JUNIUS! and can you read this without a blush?

My Lord Granby's character, as a man, as a soldier, and even as a general, will stand the test. The honesty of his heart, the integrity of his intentions, his intrepidity as a soldier, and his conduct as an officer, are unimpeached. It is true, his talents as Commander in Chief have never been tried in the field; but if we may be allowed to judge from the whole of his conduct during

voice of the army which served under him, the glorious testimony of Prince Ferdinand, and of vanquished enemies, all Germany will tell him. JUNIUS repeats the complaints of the army against

during the late war in Germany, where the execution of many important enterprizes were intrusted to him by one of the greatest generals, and one of the best judges of military merit in Europe, we may form great expectations, with the highest probability of not being disappointed.—*He knows how to obey*; he knows that a good soldier *never disputes the commands* of his superior. He always discharged his duty to the satisfaction of Duke Ferdinand, whose approbation, thanks, and acknowledgements he repeatedly obtained. Wherever he was employed, he gained honour to himself—he was beloved and esteemed by the army under his command—he was honoured and respected by the enemy—dear to the victors! generous to the vanquished! You know, JUNIUS, that he *feared not to lead on the cavalry* at Minden. He gained glory and honour at Warburg. It was the corps under his command who fought and gained the battle of Phillinghausen. He was principally concerned, and acted as became the soldier and general at Wilhelmstahl. And towards the end of the war, when the army was so situated, that if a rising ground on the left had been taken possession of by the French, it might have been attended with the worst consequences; and when the generals destined to lead a corps to occupy it, declared the service impracticable, my Lord Granby arose from a sick-bed, in the middle of the night, assumed the command of the corps, marched, with a fever upon him, in an inclement season, took possession of the post, and secured the army.—This did the soldier!

Is it necessary to ask where my Lord deserved every thing he has got after this? These are but few instances, among many others, where his Lordship acquired unfading laurels. But after all, what are the posts—what are the employments of trust and profit.

parliamentary influence. I love the army too well, not to wish that such influence were less. Let JUNIUS point out the time when it has not

profit which he has centered in himself and family, since he became Commander in Chief? He is at the head of the army without pay; one of the name of Mannors has been promoted from half-pay to a troop, and another he has appointed his aide-de-camp: and those of his friends, who have been distinguished by royal favour, are so eminent in their profession, that hitherto the tongue of malice has not dared to move against them. His own employments are marks of royal favour and confidence, the consequence of long and faithful services.—These were not acquired by factious conduct, or licentious scribbling: no, Sir, he, like every man of honour, would disdain to be distinguished by such inglorious means.

Well do you know, JUNIUS, that it would have been in vain for my Lord Granby to have opposed the nomination of my Lord Percy; and you know as well, that this is not the first time ministerial influence has been too powerful for a military commander. It is equally ungenerous and unjust therefore, to say that he has betrayed the interests of the army. It is well known, that the general condition of the army is better, much better, at present, than it has been for many years, even in America, and the garrisons abroad: your information therefore is ill founded in this point; but the truth is, JUNIUS is no friend to Lord Granby, and is willing to believe, and ready to propagate every infamous report to his disadvantage.

My Lord Granby's generosity, Sir, knows no bounds; but it is directed to much nobler objects than you would endeavour to insinuate. Often have I seen his generous hand stretched out to supply the wants of the needy soldier; nor did the meanest follower of the camp go hungry from his door. His house was open equally to British and foreigners: his table was hospitality itself, and his generous, open countenance gave
a hearty

prevailed. It was of the least force in the time of that great man, the late Duke of Cumberland, who, as a prince of the blood, was able as well

a hearty welcome to all his guests. Hence harmony reigned through the whole army, disputes had no existence, and officers of different nations emulated the social virtues of the British chief. By such means he gained the hearts of all the army; they followed him with confidence, and fought under him from attachment. No danger was too much—no attempt too daring, under his command. Whatever JUNIUS may think (though he may, for aught I know, be *perfectly unacquainted with them himself*) the gaining the affections of the soldiers will always be esteemed no mean qualification in a general.

My Lord Granby has his foibles and weaknesses, no doubt of it; so has every man. Is there one on earth perfect? But to expose these foibles and weaknesses with all the power of persuasive language, while you ~~conceal~~ slightly pass over, or endeavour to ridicule those shining parts of his character, those eminent virtues which *you cannot imitate*, it is ungenerous, and very unlike the gentleman.

You will forgive me I hope, Mr. Printer, for troubling you with an epistle of such an amazing length; but I hope you will think with me, that the subject required it. I acknowledge myself very unequal to speak of my Lord as he deserves; but I have attempted this much, from an opinion that when such an unexceptionable character is attacked, the defence becomes a public concern. It matters not, whether the malicious dart be pointed from the closet courage of a disgraced soldier, the oratorical powers of a disappointed dependant politician, or from the mad ravings of a lunatic adventurer; the sensible, unprejudiced part of mankind will see their infamous motives, and they will alike despise the illiberal production and the ungenerous author, TITUS.

as willing to stem a torrent which would have overborne any private subject. In time of war this influence is small. In peace, when discontent and faction have the surest means to operate, especially in this country, and when, from a scarcity of public spirit, the wheels of government are rarely moved, but by the power and force of obligations, its weight is always too great. Yet, if this influence at present has done no greater harm than the placing Earl Percy at the head of a regiment, I do not think that either the rights or best interests of the army are sacrificed and betrayed, or the nation undone. Let me ask JUNIUS, if he knows any one nobleman in the army, who has had a regiment by seniority? I feel myself happy in seeing young noblemen of illustrious name and great property come among us. They are an additional security to the kingdom from foreign or domestic slavery. JUNIUS needs not be told, that should the time ever come, when this nation is to be defended only by those, who have nothing more to lose than their arms and their pay, its danger will be great indeed. A happy mixture of men of quality with soldiers of fortune is always to be wished for. But the main point is still to be contended for, I mean the discipline and condition of the army, and I still must maintain, though contradicted by JUNIUS, that

it was never upon a more respectable footing, as to all the essentials that can form good soldiers, than it is at present. JUNIUS is forced to allow that our army at home may be in some tolerable order; yet how kindly does he invite our late enemies to the invasion of Ireland, by assuring them that the army in that kingdom is totally ruined! (The colonels of that army are much obliged to him.) I have too great an opinion of the military talents of the lord-lieutenant, and of their diligence and capacity, to believe it. If from some strange, unaccountable fatality, the people of that kingdom cannot be induced to consult their own security, by such an effectual augmentation, as may enable the troops there to act with power and energy, is the commander in chief here to blame? Or is he to blame, because the troops in the Mediterranean, in the West Indies, in America, labour under great difficulties from the scarcity of men, which is but too visible all over these kingdoms! Many of our forces are in climates unfavourable to British constitutions: their loss is in proportion. Britain must recruit all these regiments from her own emaciated bosom, or, more precariously, by Catholics from Ireland. We are likewise subject to the fatal drains to the East Indies, to Senegal, and the alarming emigrations of our people to other countries: Such depopulation

can only be repaired by a long peace, or by some sensible bill of naturalization.

I must now take the liberty to talk to JUNIUS on my own account. He is pleased to tell me that he addresses himself to me *personally*. I shall be glad to see him. It is his *impersonality* that I complain of, and his invisible attacks; for his dagger in the air is only to be regarded, because one cannot see the hand which holds it; but had he not wounded other people more deeply than myself, I should not have obtruded myself at all on the patience of the public.

Mark how a plain tale shall put him down, and transfuse the blush of my ribband into his own checks. JUNIUS tells me, that at my return, I zealously undertook the cause of the gallant army, by whose bravery at Manilla my own fortunes were established; that I complained, that I even appealed to the public. I did so; I glory in having done so, as I had an undoubted right to vindicate my own character, attacked by a Spanish memorial, and to assert the rights of my brave companions. I glory likewise that I have never taken up my pen, but to vindicate the injured. JUNIUS asks by what accident did it happen, that in the midst of all this bustle, and all these clamours for justice to the injured troops, the Manilla ransom was suddenly buried in a profound, and, since that time,

an uninterrupted silence? I will explain the cause to the public. The several ministers who have been employed since that time have been very desirous to do us justice from two most laudable motives, a strong inclination to assist injured bravery, and to acquire a well deserved popularity to themselves. Their efforts have been in vain. Some were ingenuous enough to own, that they could not think of involving this distressed nation into another war for our private concerns. In short, our rights for the present, are sacrificed to national convenience; and I must confess, that although I may lose five-and-twenty thousand pounds by their acquiescence to this breach of faith in the Spaniards, I think they are in the right to temporize, considering the critical situation of this country, convulsed in every part by poison infused by anonymous, wicked, and incendiary writers. Lord Shelburne will do me the justice to own, that, in September last, I waited upon him with a joint memorial from the admiral Sir S. Cornish and myself, in behalf of our injured companions. His lordship was as frank upon the occasion as other secretaries had been before him. He did not deceive us by giving any immediate hopes of relief.

JUNIUS would basely insinuate, that my silence may have been purchased by my government, by my *blushing* ribband, by my regiment, by the

sale of that regiment, and by my half-pay as an Irish colonel.

His Majesty was pleased to give me my government*, for my services at Madras. I had my first regiment in 1757. Upon my return from Manilla, his Majesty, by Lord Egremont, informed me, that I should have the first vacant red ribband, as a reward for my services in an enterprize, which I had planned as well as executed. The Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville confirmed those assurances many months before the Spaniards had protested the ransom bills. To accommodate Lord Clive, then going upon a most important service to Bengal, I waved my claim to the vacancy which then happened. As there was no other vacancy until the Duke of Grafton and Lord Rockingham were joint ministers, I was then honoured with the order, and it is surely no small honour to me, that in such a succession of ministers, they were all pleased to think that I had deserved it; in my favour they were all united. Upon the reduction of the 79th regiment, which had served so gloriously in the East Indies, his Majesty, unsolicited by me, gave me the 16th of foot as an equivalent. My motives for retiring afterwards are foreign to the purpose; let it suffice, that his Majesty was

* Yarmouth. EDIT.

pleased to approve of them ; they are such as no man can think indecent, who knows the shocks that repeated vicissitudes of heat and cold, of dangerous and sickly climates, will give to the best constitutions in a pretty long course of service. I resigned my regiment to Colonel Gisborne, a very good officer, for his half-pay, 200*l.* Irish annuity ;* so that, according to JUNIUS, I have been bribed to say nothing more of the Manilla ransom, and sacrifice those brave men by the strange avarice of accepting three hundred and eighty pounds per annum, and giving up eight hundred ! If this be bribery, it is not the bribery of these times. As to my flattery, those who know me will judge of it. By the asperity of JUNIUS's stile, I cannot indeed call

* The letter, as it appeared in the Public Advertiser, stated, by mistake, " *twelve* hundred pounds Irish annuity !" and the error has been hitherto propagated through every edition of JUNIUS's Letters, without a single exception. In a note addressed to the printer, however, and published in the same newspaper, Feb. 22, 1769, the mistake is announced, and corrected as follows.

SIR,

I beg the favour of you to correct the following error in my answer to JUNIUS.

Instead of 1200*l.* please to put, " and 200*l.* Irish annuity."

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

W. DRAPER.

Feb. 19.

EDIT.

him a flatterer, unless it be as a cynic or a mastiff; if he wags his tail, he will still growl, and long to bite. The public will now judge of the credit that ought to be given to JUNIUS's writings, from the falsities that he has insinuated with respect to myself.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

LETTER V.

TO SIR WILLIAM DRAPER, KNIGHT OF THE BATH.

SIR,

21 *February*, 1769.

I SHOULD justly be suspected of acting upon motives of more than common enmity to Lord Granby, if I continued to give you fresh materials or occasion for writing in his defence. Individuals who hate, and the public who despise him, have read *your* letters, Sir William, with infinitely more satisfaction than mine. Unfortunately for him, his reputation, like that unhappy country to which you refer me for his last military achievements, has suffered more by his friends than his enemies. In mercy to him, let us drop the subject. For my own part, I willingly leave it to the public to determine whether your vindication of your friend has been as able and judicious, as it was certainly well intended;

and you, I think, may be satisfied with the warm acknowledgments he already owes you for making him the principal figure in a piece, in which, but for your amicable assistance, he might have passed without particular notice or distinction.

In justice to your friends, let your future labours be confined to the care of your own reputation. Your declaration, that you are happy in seeing young noblemen *come among us*, is liable to two objections. With respect to Lord Percy, it means nothing, for he was already in the army. He was aid-de-camp to the King, and had the rank of colonel. A regiment therefore could not make him a more military man, though it made him richer, and probably at the expence of some brave, deserving, friendless officer.—The other concerns yourself. After selling the companions of your victory in one instance, and after selling your profession in the other, by what authority do you presume to call yourself a soldier? The plain evidence of facts is superior to all declarations. Before you were appointed to the 16th regiment, your complaints were a distress to government;—from that moment you were silent. The conclusion is inevitable. You insinuate to us that your ill state of health obliged you to quit the service. The retirement necessary to repair a

broken constitution would have been as good a reason for not accepting, as for resigning the command of a regiment. There is certainly an error of the press, or an affected obscurity in that paragraph, where you speak of your bargain with colonel Gisborne*. Instead of attempting to answer what I really do not understand, permit me to explain to the public what I really know. In exchange for your regiment, you accepted of a colonel's half-pay (at least 220*l.* a year) and an annuity of 200*l.* for your own and lady Draper's life jointly.—And is this the losing bargain, which you would represent to us, as if you had given up an income of 800*l.* a year for 380*l.*? Was it decent, was it honourable, in a man who pretends to love the army, and calls himself a soldier, to make a traffic of the royal favour, and turn the highest honour of an active profession into a sordid provision for himself and his family? It were unworthy of me to press you farther. The contempt with which the whole army heard of the manner of your retreat, assures me that as your conduct was not justified by precedent, it will never be thought an example for imitation.

The last and most important question re-

* See the error corrected in the Editor's note to the preceding Letter. EDIT.

mains. When you receive your half-pay, do you, or do you not, take a solemn oath, or sign a declaration upon honour, to the following effect? *That you do not actually hold any place of profit, civil or military, under his Majesty.* The charge which this question plainly conveys against you, is of so shocking a complexion, that I sincerely wish you may be able to answer it well, not merely for the colour of your reputation, but for your own inward peace of mind.

JUNIUS.

LETTER VI.

TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

27 February, 1769.

I HAVE a very short answer for JUNIUS's important question: I do not either take an oath, or declare upon honour, that I have no *place of profit, civil or military*, when I receive the half-pay as an Irish colonel. My most gracious Sovereign gives it me as a pension; he was pleased to think I deserved it. The annuity of 200*l.* Irish, and the equivalent for the half-pay together, produce no more than 380*l.* per annum, clear of fees and perquisites of office. I receive 167*l.* from my government of

Yarmouth. Total 547*l.* per annum. My conscience is much at ease in these particulars; my friends need not blush for me.

JUNIUS makes much and frequent use of interrogations: they are arms that may be easily turned against himself. I could, by malicious interrogations, disturb the peace of the most virtuous man in the kingdom; I could take the decalogue, and say to one man, Did you never steal? To the next, Did you never commit murder? And to JUNIUS himself, who is putting my life and conduct to the rack, Did you never bear false witness against thy neighbour? JUNIUS must easily see, that unless he affirms the contrary in his real name, some people who may be as ignorant of him as I am, will be apt to suspect him of having deviated a little from the truth: therefore let JUNIUS ask no more questions. You bite against a file: cease viper.

W. D.

LETTER VII.

TO SIR WILLIAM DRAPER, KNIGHT OF THE BATH.

SIR,

3 *March*, 1769.

AN academical education has given you an unlimited command over the most beautiful figures of speech. Masks, hatchets,

racks, and vipers dance through your letters in all the mazes of metaphorical confusion. These are the gloomy companions of a disturbed imagination; the melancholy madness of poetry, without the inspiration. I will not contend with you in point of composition. You are a scholar, Sir William, and, if I am truly informed, you write Latin with almost as much purity as English. Suffer me then, for I am a plain unlettered man, to continue that stile of interrogation, which suits my capacity, and to which, considering the readiness of your answers, you ought to have no objection. Even Mr. Bingley* promises to answer, if put to the torture.

* This man, being committed by the court of King's Bench for a contempt, voluntarily made oath, that he would never answer interrogatories, unless he should be put to the torture. AUTHOR.

Bingley was by trade a bookseller; and in the character here referred to, a witness for the crown, in a cause between government and Wilkes. It is difficult to say for what purpose this man was subpoenaed on either side; for his obstinacy was so extreme, that he could not be induced to answer the interrogatories addressed to him on the part either of the plaintiff or defendant. It was on this account he was committed to the King's Bench prison, where he continued as refractory as in the King's Bench court—he was at length discharged, on the motion of the attorney general, without any submission on his own part, from the mere idea that he had suffered severely enough for his contumacy.—See a further account of this transaction, JUNIUS, Letter xli. EDIT.

Do you then really think that, if I were to ask a *most virtuous man* whether he ever committed theft, or murder, it would disturb his peace of mind? Such a question might perhaps discompose the gravity of his muscles, but I believe it would little affect the tranquillity of his conscience. Examine your own breast, Sir William, and you will discover, that reproaches and enquiries have no power to afflict either the man of unblemished integrity, or the abandoned profligate. It is the middle compound character which alone is vulnerable: the man, who, without firmness enough to avoid a dishonourable action, has feeling enough to be ashamed of it.

I thank you for your hint of the decalogue, and shall take an opportunity of applying it to some of your *most virtuous* friends in both houses of parliament.

You seem to have dropped the affair of your regiment; so let it rest. When you are appointed to another, I dare say you will not sell it either for a gross sum, or for an annuity upon lives.

I am truly glad (for really, Sir William, I am not your enemy, nor did I begin this contest with you*) that you have been able to clear

* The politics of Sir William Draper were certainly not violent, and he appears to have been rather a private friend of the
the

yourself of a crime, though at the expence of the highest indiscretion. You say that your half-pay was given you by way of pension. I will not dwell upon the singularity of uniting in your own person two sorts of provision, which in their own nature, and in all military

the Marquis's than a partisan on either side of the question. The following letter, published by him in the Public Advertiser, in the very midst of his dispute with JUNIUS, is highly creditable to his liberality, and sufficiently proves the truth of the assertion of JUNIUS, that he could not be, at least upon political principles, Sir William's enemy.

TO THE PRINTER.

SIR,

Clifton, February 6th, 1769.

IF the voice of a well-meaning individual could be heard amidst the clamour, fury, and madness of the times, would it appear too rash and presumptuous to propose to the public that an act of indemnity and oblivion may be made for all past transactions and offences, as well with respect to Mr. Wilkes as to our colonies? Such salutary expedients have been embraced by the wisest of nations: such expedients have been made use of by our own, when the public confusion had arrived to some very dangerous and alarming crisis; and I believe it needs not the gift of prophecy to foretel that some such crisis is now approaching. Perhaps it will be more wise and praiseworthy to make such an act immediately, in order to prevent the possibility (not to say the probability) of an insurrection at home and in our dependencies abroad, than it will be to be obliged to have recourse to one after the mischief has been done, and the kingdom has groaned under all the miseries that avarice, ambition, hypocrisy, and madness, could

and parliamentary views, are incompatible ; but I call upon you to justify that declaration, wherein you charge your Sovereign with having done an act in your favour, notoriously against law. The half-pay, both in Ireland and England, is appropriated by parliament; and if it be given

could inflict upon it. An act of grace, indemnity, and oblivion, was passed at the restoration of King Charles the second; but I will venture to say that had such an act been seasonably passed in the reign of his unhappy father, the civil war had been prevented, and no restoration had been necessary. It is too late to recall all the messengers and edicts of wrath. Cannot the money that is now wasted in endless and mutual prosecutions, and in stopping the mouth of one person, and opening that of another, be better employed in erecting a temple to Concord? Let Mr. Wilkes lay the first stone, and such a stone as I hope the builders will not refuse. May this parliament, to use Lord Clarendon's expression, be called "The healing parliament!" May our foul wounds be cleansed and then closed! The English have been as famous for good-nature as for valour: let it not be said that such qualities are degenerated into savage ferocity. If any of my friends in either house of legislature shall condescend to listen to and improve these hints, I shall think that I have not lived in vain.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

Sir William, in return, if he ever had any personal enmity against JUNIUS, appears to have relinquished it completely a short time after the contest, if we may judge from the following anecdote given by Mr. Campbell in his life of Hugh Boyd, p. 185.

"Some months after the Letters of JUNIUS were published collectively, Boyd met Sir William Draper at the tennis court, where

to persons who, like you, are legally incapable of holding it, it is a breach of law. It would have been more decent in you to have called this dishonourable transaction by its true name; a job to accommodate two persons, by particular interest and management at the castle. What sense must government have had of your services, when the rewards they have given you are only a disgrace to you !

And now, Sir William, I shall take my leave of you for ever. Motives very different from any apprehension of your resentment, make it impossible you should ever know me. In truth, you have some reason to hold yourself indebted to me. From the lessons I have given you, you may collect a profitable instruction for your future life. They will either teach you so to regulate your conduct, as to be able to set the most malicious inquiries at defiance ; or, if that be a lost hope, they will teach you prudence enough not to attract the public attention to a character, which will only pass

where their acquaintance was originally formed in the year 1769, and where (being both great tennis players) they used often to meet ; the conversation turning upon JUNIUS, Sir William observed, " That though JUNIUS had treated him with extreme severity, he now looked upon him as a very honest fellow ; that he freely forgave him for the bitterness of his censures, and that there was no man with whom he would more gladly drink a bottle of old Burgundy." EDIT.

without censure, when it passes without observation.

JUNIUS.

It has been said, and I believe truly, that it was signified to Sir William Draper, as the request of Lord Granby, that he should desist from writing in his Lordship's defence. Sir William Draper certainly drew JUNIUS forward to say more of Lord Granby's character, than he originally intended. He was reduced to the dilemma of either being totally silenced, or of supporting his first letter. Whether Sir William had a right to reduce him to this dilemma, or to call upon him for his name, after a voluntary attack on *his* side, are questions submitted to the candor of the public.—The death of Lord Granby was lamented by JUNIUS. He undoubtedly owed some compensations to the public, and seemed determined to acquit himself of them. In private life, he was unquestionably that good man, who, for the interest of his country, ought to have been a great one. *Bonum virum facile dixeris ;—magnum libenter.* I speak of him now without partiality ;—I never spoke of him with resentment. His mistakes, in public conduct, did not arise either from want of sentiment, or want of judgment, but in general from the difficulty of saying no to the bad people who surrounded him.

As for the rest, the friends of Lord Granby should remember, that he himself thought proper to condemn, retract, and disavow, by a most solemn declaration in the House of Commons, that very system of political conduct, which JUNIUS had held forth to the disapprobation of the public. AUTHOR.

This took place January the 30th, 1770, in a committee on the state of the nation, in which the affair of the Middlesex election was particularly discussed ; and on which occasion the Marquis of Granby delivered himself as follows :—

“ I am sorry I am obliged to declare myself against the motion ; but I cannot see what right this House can have to receive any person into it as a member except by the full choice of his constituents. It was for want of considering the nice distinction

LETTER VIII.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

18 *March*, 1769.

BEFORE you were placed at the head of affairs, it had been a maxim of the English government, not unwillingly admitted by the

inction between expulsion and incapacitation that I gave my vote for the sitting of a member who was not returned in the last session of this parliament. That vote I shall always lament as the greatest misfortune of my life. I now see the Middlesex election in another light: I now see that though this House has an unquestionable and long established right to expel, yet that a right to incapacitate is lodged only in the legislature collectively. I see that I was in an error, and I am not ashamed to make this public declaration of it, and give my vote for the amendment."

The belief of JUNIUS, "that it was signified to Sir W. D. as the request of Lord G. that he should desist from writing in his Lordship's defence," is farther confirmed by the following notice appended to a letter on the subject of this controversy, signed Aurelius, inserted in the *Public Advertiser*, March 11, 1769. "We must now beg leave to drop this dispute, as the printer has received a hint that its continuance will be disagreeable."

Sir W. Draper, as far as Lord Granby was implicated, dropped the subject; though he subsequently wrote the following letter in defence of his own conduct, in which he again calls upon JUNIUS to avow himself.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

Clifton, April 24th, 1769.

A Gentleman who signed himself *An Half-pay Subaltern*, has called upon me to stand forth in the behalf of the

people, that every ungracious or severe exertion of the prerogative should be placed to the account of the Minister; but that whenever an

the much distressed officers now upon half-pay. He was pleased to say, that I have an effectual method of being *really* servicable to the officers of my reduced regiment. I should have been happy in receiving, by a private letter, that gentleman's idea of relief for them; could have wished he had made use of a more agreeable mode of application than a public newspaper; as unluckily these *ill seasoned provocatives* are more apt to *disgust* than *quicken* the desire of doing good, especially when they are accompanied by invidious reflections, both rash and ill founded: at present I am quite at a loss to find out by what means a person out of parliament, who has long retired from the *great world*, and who of course has but very little influence or interest, can be of much use to those gallant and distressed gentlemen; to many of whom I have the greatest obligations; of which I have upon all occasions, made the most public and grateful acknowledgments; nor was there the smallest necessity to *wake* me in this loud manner to a remembrance of their important services, although the writer has been pleased to charge me with *forgetfulness*; a most *heavy* imputation! as it implies ingratitude towards those by whom I have been so essentially assisted, and to whom I am so much indebted for my *good fortune*; which however is not so *great* as the gentleman imagines: he himself *forgets* that the Spaniards have also *forgot* to pay the ransom. If he could quicken their memory, instead of mine, the officers would be more obliged to him.

Their bravery has given me a competency, a *golden mediocrity*, but not much affluence or luxury, which is a stranger to my house as well as to my thoughts; and I here most solemnly declare (notwithstanding the *false assertions* of a JUNIUS, who has told the world that I had *sold the partners* of my victory, and then *gravely* asked me if I were not guilty of perjury) that
my

act of grace or benevolence was to be performed, the whole merit of it should be attributed to the Sovereign himself *. It was a wise doc-

my income is now less than when I first went to Manilla. It is true, that its being so is by my own choice : I am voluntarily upon an equivalent for half-pay ; and although I would most willingly stand forth in the service of my king and country, should the necessity of the times demand my poor assistance, yet I would not again accept of any regiment whatsoever, or interfere with the pretensions of those officers, whose good fortune has been less than their merits ; and I here most solemnly declare, that I never received either from the East India Company, or from the Spaniards, directly or indirectly, any *present* or *gratification*, or any circumstance of emolument whatsoever to the amount of five shillings, during the whole course of the expedition, or afterwards, my legal prize-money excepted. The Spaniards know that I refused the sum of fifty thousand pounds offered me by the archbishop, to mitigate the terms of the ransom, and to reduce it to half a million, instead of a *whole* one : so that had I been disposed to have *basely sold* the partners of my victory, avarice herself could not have wished for a richer opportunity.

The many base insinuations, that have been of late thrown out to my disadvantage in the public papers, oblige me to have recourse to the same channel for my vindication ; and flatter myself that the public will be candid enough not to impute it to arrogance, vanity, or the impertinence of egotism ; and hope that as much credit will be given to the assertions of a man, who is ready to seal his testimony with his blood, as to a writer, who when repeatedly called upon to avow himself, and personally maintain his accusation, still skulks in the dark, or in the *mean* subterfuge of a mask.

W. D.

* Les rois ne se sont réservés que les grâces. Ils renvoient les condamnations vers leurs officiers. *Montesquieu*.

trine, my Lord, and equally advantageous to the King and to his subjects ; for while it preserved that suspicious attention, with which the people ought always to examine the conduct of ministers, it tended at the same time rather to increase than to diminish their attachment to the person of their Sovereign. If there be not a fatality attending every measure you are concerned in, by what treachery, or by what excess of folly has it happened, that those ungracious acts, which have distinguished your administration, and which I doubt not were entirely your own, should carry with them a strong appearance of personal interest, and even of personal enmity in a quarter, where no such interest or enmity can be supposed to exist, without the highest injustice and the highest dishonour? On the other hand, by what judicious management have you contrived it, that the only act of mercy, to which you ever advised your Sovereign, far from adding to the lustre of a character, truly gracious and benevolent, should be received with universal disapprobation and disgust? I shall consider it as a ministerial measure, because it is an odious one, and as your measure, my Lord Duke, because you are the minister.

As long as the trial of this chairman was

depending*, it was natural enough that government should give him every possible encouragement and support. The honourable service for which he was hired, and the spirit with which he performed it, made common cause between your Grace and him. The minister, who by secret corruption invades the freedom of elections, and the ruffian, who by open violence destroys that freedom, are embarked in the same bottom. They have the same interests, and mutually feel for each other. To do justice to your Grace's humanity, you felt for Mac Quirk as you ought to do, and if you had been contented to assist him indirectly, without a notorious denial of justice, or openly insulting the sense of the nation, you might have satisfied

* The contest for the Middlesex election, in which Wilkes, though an outlaw, was four times returned through the favour of the populace, was conducted on both sides with the utmost violence and outrage. The court as well as the popular party had its committees and its hired mobs. Edward M'Quirk was one of the persons employed in the latter capacity, and how resolutely he fulfilled his office in heading one of the court mobs may be collected from his having been chiefly concerned in a fray, in which a man of the name of Clarke, belonging to the opposite mob, was killed. M'Quirk was committed to prison, and, on his trial the jury found him guilty of murder, and he was of course condemned to be executed. By the advice of the minister, however, his majesty interposed with his royal grace, and M'Quirk was pardoned. EDIT.

every duty of political friendship, without committing the honour of your Sovereign, or hazarding the reputation of his government. But when this unhappy man had been solemnly tried, convicted and condemned ;—when it appeared that he had been frequently employed in the same services, and that no excuse for him could be drawn either from the innocence of his former life, or the simplicity of his character, was it not hazarding too much to interpose the strength of the prerogative between this felon and the justice of his country*? You ought to have

* *Whitehall, March 11, 1769.* His Majesty has been graciously pleased to extend his royal mercy to Edward M'Quirk, found guilty of the murder of George Clarke, as appears by his royal warrant to the tenor following.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS a doubt had arisen in Our Royal breast concerning the evidence of the death of George Clarke, from the representations of William Bromfield, Esq. surgeon, and Solomon Starling, apothecary ; both of whom, as has been represented to Us, attended the deceased before his death, and expressed their opinions that he did not die of the blow he received at Brentford : And whereas it appears to Us, that neither of the said persons were produced as witnesses upon the trial, though the said Solomon Starling had been examined before the coroner, and the only person called to prove that the death of the said George Clarke was occasioned by the said blow, was John Foot, surgeon, who never saw the deceased till after his death ; We thought fit thereupon to refer the said representations, together with the report of the Recorder of Our city of London, of the evidence given by Richard and William Beale, and the
said

known that an example of this sort was never so necessary as at present ; and certainly you must have known that the lot could not have fallen upon a more guilty object. What system of government is this ? You are perpetually complaining of the riotous disposition of the lower class of people, yet when the laws have given you the means of making an example, in every sense unexceptionable, and by far the most likely to awe the multitude, you pardon the

said John Foot, on the trial of Edward Quirk, otherwise called Edward Kirk, otherwise called Edward M'Quirk, for the murder of the said Clarke, to the master, wardens, and the rest of the court of examiners of the Surgeons company, commanding them likewise to take such further examination of the said persons so representing, and of said John Foot, as they might think necessary, together with the premisses abovementioned, to form and report to us their opinion, " Whether it did or did not appear to them, that the said George Clarke died in consequence of the blow he received in the riot at Brentford on the 8th of December last." And the said court of examiners of the Surgeons company having thereupon reported to Us their opinion, " That it did not appear to them that he did ;" We have thought proper to extend Our royal mercy to him the said Edward Quirk, otherwise Edward Kirk, otherwise called Edward M'Quirk, and to grant him Our free pardon for the Murder of the said George Clarke, of which he has been found guilty : Our will and pleasure therefore is, That he the said Edward Quirk, otherwise called Edward Kirk, otherwise called Edward M'Quirk, be inserted, for the said murder, in our first and next general pardon that shall come out for the poor convicts of Newgate, without any condition whatsoever ; and that
in

offence, and are not ashamed to give the sanction of government to the riots you complain of, and even to future murders. You are partial perhaps to the military mode of execution, and had rather see a score of these wretches butchered by the guards, than one of them suffer death by regular course of law*. How does it happen, my Lord, that, in *your* hands, even the mercy of the prerogative is cruelty and oppression to the subject?

The measure it seems was so extraordinary, that you thought it necessary to give some reasons for it to the public. Let them be fairly examined.

1. You say *that Messrs. Bromfield and Starling were not examined at Mac Quirk's trial.* I will tell your Grace why they were not. They must have been examined upon oath; and it

in the mean time you take bail for his appearance, in order to plead Our said pardon. And for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at Our court at St. James's the 10th day of March,
1769, in the ninth year of Our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

To Our trusty and well beloved James ROCHFORD.

Eyre, Esq. Recorder of Our city of
London, the Sheriffs of Our said
city and county of Middlesex, and
all others whom it may concern.

* See this subject farther touched upon in *Miscellaneous Letters*, No. xxiv EDIT.

was foreseen, that their evidence would either not benefit, or might be prejudicial to the prisoner. Otherwise, is it conceivable that his counsel should neglect to call in such material evidence?

You say that *Mr. Foot did not see the deceased until after his death*. A surgeon, my Lord, must know very little of his profession, if, upon examining a wound, or a contusion, he cannot determine whether it was mortal or not.—While the party is alive, a surgeon will be cautious of pronouncing; whereas, by the death of the patient, he is enabled to consider both cause and effect in one view, and to speak with a certainty confirmed by experience.

Yet we are to thank your Grace for the establishment of a new tribunal. Your *inquisitio post mortem* is unknown to the laws of England, and does honour to your invention*. The only

* This sentence in a note to one of the editions of the Letters of JUNIUS is said to have no correct meaning. "JUNIUS," says the commentator, "thought that he had hit upon a forcible and quaintly allusive expression, hastily used it, and blundered into nonsense in the use." The reader however shall now determine whether it is the author or the commentator who has *blundered into nonsense*.

The expression is, in fact, perfectly correct, though liable to be misunderstood without some attention. Every coroner's inquest, indeed, except in the cases of ship-wreck and treasure-trove, is, when exercised judicially, an *inquisitio post mortem*; but it can only legally take place *super visum corporis*, "on the

material objection to it is, that if Mr. Foot's evidence was insufficient, because he did not examine the wound till after the death of the party, much less can a negative opinion, given by gentlemen who never saw the body of Mr. Clarke, either before or after his decease, authorize you to supersede the verdict of a jury, and the sentence of the law.

Now, my Lord, let me ask you, Has it never occurred to your Grace, while you were withdrawing this desperate wretch from that justice which the laws had awarded, and which the whole people of England demanded against him, that there is another man, who is the favourite of his country, whose pardon would have been accepted with gratitude, whose pardon would have healed all our divisions*? Have you quite

the sight of the corpse or dead body ;" on the spot where the death was produced ; and by a jury summoned from the neighbourhood. In the instance before us none of these constitutional requisites, were attended to ; and JUNIUS might hence remark with the strictest accuracy, as well as the keenest irony, *Your inquisitio post mortem* is unknown to the laws of England. EDIT.

* John Wilkes, formerly, and before the duke of Grafton had abandoned the party of Lord Chatham, and had formed a party for himself, was one of his Grace's most confidential friends. He was at this time confined in the King's Bench prison, having surrendered himself to the jurisdiction of the court of this name, by which the sentence of outlawry had been pronounced against him. The immediate cause of the

forgotten that this man was once your Grace's friend? Or is it to murderers only that you will extend the mercy of the crown?

These are questions you will not answer, nor is it necessary. The character of your private life, and the uniform tenour of your public conduct, is an answer to them all.

JUNIUS.

LETTER IX.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

10 April, 1769.

I HAVE so good an opinion of your Grace's discernment, that when the author of

ministerial persecution of Wilkes, was the zeal with which he had opposed the existing cabinet, and especially the odium and disgrace in which the ministry had involved themselves by issuing a general warrant to seize all the papers and persons of whomsoever they *suspected* to be concerned in writing the forty-fifth number of the famous political and periodical paper called the North Briton, a joint publication of John Wilkes, Charles Churchill, and Lord Temple. The question of general warrants was hereby necessarily brought before the public. The popular resentment was roused against the abettors of such a measure to the highest point of irascibility; and Wilkes, upon the next general election that ensued, was chosen member of parliament for the county of Middlesex, notwithstanding his outlawry, as a proof of the utter contempt in which the ministry were at this time held by the nation, rather than out of any personal regard for Wilkes himself, whose own misconduct must otherwise have been the ruin of him. EDIT.

the vindication of your conduct assures us, that he writes from his own mere motion, without the least authority from your Grace*, I should be ready enough to believe him, but for one fatal mark, which seems to be fixed upon every measure, in which either your personal or your political character is concerned.—Your first attempt to support Sir William Proctor ended in the election of Mr. Wilkes; the second ensured success to Mr. Glynn. The extraordinary step you took to make Sir James Lowther lord paramount of Cumberland, has ruined his interest in that county for ever†. The House List of Directors was cursed with the concurrence of government‡; and even the miserable Dingley could not escape the misfortune of your Grace's protection§. With this uniform experience

* He alludes to a pamphlet containing a long and laboured vindication of the Duke of Grafton, attributed to the pen of Mr. Edward Weston, writer of the Gazette. EDIT.

† See note upon the Nullum Tempus bill, JUNIUS No. LVII. in which the contest between Sir James Lowther and the Duke of Portland is detailed at large. EDIT.

‡ At this period the whole four and twenty directors were annually chosen, and ten gentlemen, whose names were not inserted in the house list, were elected, notwithstanding the influence of government was exerted in its support. EDIT.

§ This unfortunate person had been persuaded by the Duke of Grafton to set up for Middlesex, his Grace being determined to seat him in the House of Commons, if he had but a single vote. It happened unluckily, that he could not prevail
upon

before us, we are authorized to suspect, that when a pretended vindication of your principles and conduct in reality contains the bitterest reflections upon both, it could not have been written without your immediate direction and assistance. The author indeed calls God to witness for him, with all the sincerity, and in the very terms of an Irish evidence, *to the best of his knowledge and belief*. My Lord, you should not encourage these appeals to heaven. The pious Prince, from whom you are supposed to descend, made such frequent use of them in his public declarations, that at last the people also found it necessary to appeal to heaven in their turn. Your administration has driven us into circumstances of equal distress;—beware at least how you remind us of the remedy.

You have already much to answer for. You have provoked this unhappy gentleman to play the fool once more in public life, in spite of his years and infirmities, and to shew us, that, as you yourself are a singular instance of youth without spirit, the man who defends you is a no less remarkable example of age without the benefit of experience. To follow such a writer minutely would, like his own periods, be a labour without end. The subject too has been

upon any one freeholder to put him in nomination, and it was with difficulty he escaped out of the hands of the populace.

already discussed, and is sufficiently understood. I cannot help observing, however, that, when the pardon of Mac Quirk was the principal charge against you, it would have been but a decent compliment to your Grace's understanding, to have defended you upon your own principles. What credit does a man deserve, who tells us plainly, that the facts set forth in the King's proclamation were not the true motives on which the pardon was granted, and that he wishes that those chirurgical reports, which first gave occasion to certain doubts in the royal breast, had not been laid before his Majesty. You see, my Lord, that even your friends cannot defend your actions, without changing your principles, nor justify a deliberate measure of government, without contradicting the main assertion on which it was founded.

The conviction of Mac Quirk had reduced you to a dilemma, in which it was hardly possible for you to reconcile your political interest with your duty. You were obliged either to abandon an active useful partisan, or to protect a felon from public justice. With your usual spirit, you preferred your interest to every other consideration ; and with your usual judgment, you founded your determination upon the only motives, which should not have been given to the public.

I have frequently censured Mr. Wilkes's conduct, yet your advocate reproaches me with having devoted myself to the service of sedition. Your Grace can best inform us, for which of Mr. Wilkes's good qualities you first honoured him with your friendship, or how long it was before you discovered those bad ones in him, at which, it seems, your delicacy was offended. Remember, my Lord, that you continued your connexion with Mr. Wilkes long after he had been convicted of those crimes, which you have since taken pains to represent in the blackest colours of blasphemy and treason. How unlucky is it, that the first instance you have given us of a scrupulous regard to decorum is united with the breach of a moral obligation! For my own part, my Lord, I am proud to affirm, that, ~~if I had~~ been weak enough to form such a friendship, I would never have been base enough to betray it. But, let Mr. Wilkes's character be what it may, this at least is certain, that, circumstanced as he is with regard to the public, even his vices plead for him. The people of England have too much discernment to suffer your Grace to take advantage of the failings of a private character, to establish a precedent by which the public liberty is affected, and which you may hereafter, with equal ease and satisfaction, employ to the ruin of the best men in the

kingdom.—Content yourself, my Lord, with the many advantages, which the unsullied purity of your own character has given you over your unhappy deserted friend. Avail yourself of all the unforgiving piety of the court you live in, and bless God that you “are not as other men are; extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican.” In a heart void of feeling, the laws of honour and good faith may be violated with impunity, and there you may safely indulge your genius. But the laws of England shall not be violated, even by your holy zeal to oppress a sinner; and though you have succeeded in making him the tool, you shall not make him the victim of your ambition.

JUNIUS.

LETTER X.

TO MR. EDWARD WESTON.

SIR,

21 April, 1769.

I SAID you were an old man without the benefit of experience. It seems you are also a volunteer with the stipend of twenty commissions*; and at a period when all pro-

* Under the presumption that the pamphlet alluded to in the preceding letter, entitled a “Vindication of the Duke of Grafton,” was written by Mr. Weston, and which was avowedly

spects are at an end, you are still looking forward to rewards, which you cannot enjoy.

defended by the author, whoever he was, in the Public Advertiser, under the signature of a "Volunteer in the Government's Service," the following short letter, addressed to that gentleman, obviously from the pen of JUNIUS, appeared in the same paper.

TO THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD WESTON.

SIR,

April 20, 1769.

YOUR age, though oppressed with bodily and mental infirmities, which, for the world's edification, you have published to it, demands some respect, or the cause you have embarked in, would entitle you to none. The last glimmerings of your expiring taper, however, do your hero no honour; and I fear the principle that has kindled it obtains you no credit. You are a privy counsellor in Ireland, writer of the Gazette, comptroller of the salt-office, a clerk of the signet, and a pensioner on the Irish establishment: such is the *Volunteer*! And you may remember when you were under secretary of state, the division of 500*l.* among the people left to your discretion, of which you *modestly* claimed 400*l.* for yourself. So honest, so upright, and so disinterested is the *man*! Let JUNIUS be the *dirty rascal* you call him, I know, you know, and the world knows, *what you are*. CRRTO.

This letter produced a short reply from the Volunteer, in which he denies that Mr. Weston is the author of the pamphlet, or of the letters under that signature; and one from Poetikastos, who attacks JUNIUS in the following words:

"You conclude your despicable vindication of an honour which you do not possess, by asserting 'that you are a master in the art of representing the treachery of the minister, and the abused simplicity of a ———' Villain! of whom? You, who

No man is better acquainted with the bounty of government than you are.

———*ton impudence,*

Temeraire vicillard, aura sa recompense.

But I will not descend to an altercation either with the impotence of your age, or the

who write under the name of JUNIUS, are a base scoundrel. You lie; and you may find out who gives you the lie."

These letters occasioned the under written answer:—

TO THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD WESTON.

April 27, 1769.

THE old fox has been unkennelled, but is ashamed of his stinking tail. Either several people of intelligence and consideration have been grossly deceived, or our doughty *Volunteer* declares upon *his honour* an untruth. I cannot believe a misinformation, unless the world should have thought that no impertinent, expectant, old fellow, could have been found to dispatch so lame an errand but you.

You seem ashamed of your generous distribution: I applaud your modesty; but it shall not be at the expense of truth. You did claim 400*l.* out of 500*l.* for your own self; and there are, I suppose, at least half a dozen people who can attest it. And you shall find that I dare say something else to your mortification, if you suppose the world is not heartily tired of you, your petulance, and your crudities.

I don't believe the governors of Bedlam indulge their patients with news-papers, or I should have supposed that *Poetikastos* had obtained his genteel residence there. The poor raving creature bawls aloud for swords and pistols, and requires the last argument instead of the best. The public has pronounced upon his reason the judgment of *Felo de se*, from his own pen;—I am so impressed with humanity as to wish the coroner may not have the trouble of passing the same sentence upon

peevishness of your diseases. Your pamphlet*, ingenious as it is, has been so little read, that the public cannot know how far you have a right to give me the lie, without the following citation of your own words.

Page 6—‘ 1. That he is persuaded that the motives, which he (Mr. Weston) has alledged, must appear fully sufficient, with or without the opinions of the surgeons.

‘ 2. That those very motives **MUST HAVE BEEN** the foundation, on which the Earl of Rochford thought proper, &c.

‘ 3. That he **CANNOT BUT REGRET** that the Earl of Rochford seems to have thought proper to lay the chirurgical reports before the King, in preference to all the other sufficient motives,’ &c.

Let the public determine whether this be defending government on their principles or your own.

upon his person from his sword. I should, however, pity the elegant JUNIUS, who well deserves the thanks of the independent public, if he was obliged to take notice of every fool, sycophant, and bully. CRITO. EDIT.

* It is possible JUNIUS, though his information was generally accurate, was incorrect in attributing this pamphlet to Mr. Weston. For, in a letter inserted by Mr. Weston in the Public Advertiser a few months afterwards, October 14, he solemnly denies his having written this and a variety of pamphlets and letters attributed to him. EDIT.

The style and language you have adopted are, I confess, not ill suited to the elegance of your own manners, or to the dignity of the cause you have undertaken. Every common dauber writes rascal and villain under his pictures, because the pictures themselves have neither character nor resemblance. But the works of a master require no index. His features and colouring are taken from nature. The impression they make is immediate and uniform; nor is it possible to mistake his characters, whether they represent the treachery of a minister, or the abused simplicity of a King.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XI.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

24 April, 1769.

THE system you seemed to have adopted, when Lord Chatham unexpectedly left you at the head of affairs, gave us no promise of that uncommon exertion of vigour, which has since illustrated your character, and distinguished your administration. Far from discovering a spirit bold enough to invade the first rights of the people, and the first principles of the constitution, you were scrupulous of exer-

cising even those powers, with which the executive branch of the legislature is legally invested. We have not yet forgotten how long Mr. Wilkes was suffered to appear at large, nor how long he was at liberty to canvass for the city* and county, with all the terrors of an outlawry hanging over him†. Our gracious

* Prior to his offering himself for the county of Middlesex, Wilkes had become a candidate for the metropolis, and it was in consequence of his failure in the city, that he pressed forwards to the county. The populace, in both cases, were so numerously and so violently attached to him, that many serious riots were the consequence—and so outrageous were they in two or three instances, that the court party strenuously asserted that the city and even the palace itself were not free from danger. Of these riots, the two most serious that occurred, were on the meeting of parliament, when the populace surrounded the King's Bench prison from an expectation of seeing Wilkes, who had then been elected member for Middlesex, liberated, in order to take his seat in the senate, in the course of which several persons were killed by the firing of the military; and on the counter address to that of the city being carried to St. James's by those who were deputed for this purpose; on which last occasion the riot act was read at the palace gate, and Lord Talbot, the lord-steward, had his staff of office broken in his hand. EDIT.

† As JUNIUS was extremely severe in his censures on Lord Mansfield, it is deemed a mere act of justice to extract a part of his lordship's speech on the reversal of Mr. Wilkes's outlawry, by which it will appear, such was the temper of the times, that the chief justice was even privately threatened upon the occasion, should his decision of the cause be in opposition to the popular opinion of the day. The extract

Sovereign has not yet forgotten the extraordinary care you took of his dignity and of the

is well worthy the reader's perusal, as a specimen of eloquence not often equalled, and rarely excelled; it forms the conclusion of his address.

“ I have now gone through the several errors assigned by the defendant, and which have been ingeniously argued, and confidently relied on by his counsel at the bar; I have given my sentiments upon them, and if upon the whole, after the closest attention to what has been said, and with the strongest inclination in favour of the defendant, no arguments which have been urged, no cases which have been cited, no reasons that occur to me, are sufficient to satisfy me in my conscience and judgment that this outlawry should be reversed, I am bound to affirm it—and here let me make a pause.

“ Many arguments have been suggested, both in and out of court, upon the consequences of establishing this outlawry, either as they may affect the defendant as an individual, or the public in general. As to the first, whatever they may be, the defendant has brought them upon himself; they are inevitable consequences of law arising from his own act; if the penalty, to which he is thereby subjected, is more than a punishment adequate to the crime he has committed, he should not have brought himself into this unfortunate predicament, by flying from the justice of his country; he thought proper to do so, and he must take the fruits of his own conduct, however bitter and unpalatable they may be; and although we may be heartily sorry for any person who has brought himself into this situation, it is not in our power, God forbid it should ever be in our power, to deliver him from it; we cannot prevent the judgment of the law by creating irregularity in the proceedings; we cannot prevent the consequences of that judgment by pardoning the crime; if the defendant has any pretensions to mercy, those pretensions must be urged, and that power
exercised

safety of his person, when, at a crisis which courtiers affected to call alarming, you left the

exercised in another place, where the constitution has wisely and necessarily vested it: the crown will judge for itself; it does not belong to us to interfere with punishment, we have only to declare the law; none of us had any concern in the prosecution of this business, nor any wishes upon the event of it; it was not our fault that the defendant was prosecuted for the libels upon which he has been convicted; I took no share in another place, in the measures which were taken to prosecute him for one of them; it was not our fault that he was convicted; it was not our fault that he fled; it was not our fault that he was outlawed; it was not our fault that he rendered himself up to justice; none of us revived the prosecution against him, nor could any one of us stop that prosecution when it was revived; it is not our fault if there are not any errors upon the record, nor is it in our power to create any if there are none; we are bound by our oath and in our consciences, to give such a judgment as the law will warrant, and as our reason can prove; such a judgment as we must stand or fall by, in the opinion of the present times, and of posterity; in doing it, therefore, we must have regard to our reputation as honest men, and men of skill and knowledge competent to the stations we hold; no considerations whatsoever should mislead us from this great object to which we ever ought, and I trust, ever shall direct our attention. But consequences of a public nature, reasons of state, political ones, have been strongly urged, (private anonymous letters sent to me, I shall pass over) open avowed publications which have been judicially noticed, and may therefore be mentioned, have endeavoured to influence or intimidate the court, and so prevail upon us to trifle and prevaricate with God, our consciences and the public: it has been intimated that consequences of a frightful nature will flow from the establishment of this outlawry; it is
said

metropolis exposed for two nights together, to every species of riot and disorder. The security

said the people expect the reversal, that the temper of the times demand it, that the multitude will have it so; that the continuation of the outlawry in full force, will not be endured; that the execution of the law upon the defendant will be resisted: these are arguments which will not weigh a feather with me. If insurrection and rebellion are to follow our determination, we have not to answer for the consequences, though we should be the innocent cause—we can only say *Fiat justitia ruat calum*; we shall discharge our duty without expectations of approbation, or the apprehensions of censure; if we are subjected to the latter unjustly, we must submit to it; we cannot prevent it, we will take care not to deserve it. He must be a weak man indeed who can be staggered by such a consideration.

“The misapprehension, or the misrepresentation of the ignorant or the wicked, the *Mendax Infamia*, which is the consequence of both, are equally indifferent to, unworthy the attention of, and incapable of making any impression on men of firmness and intrepidity.—Those who imagine judges are capable of being influenced by such unworthy, indirect means, most grossly deceive themselves; and for my own part I trust that my temper, and the colour and conduct of my life, have clothed me with a suit of armour to shield me from such arrows. If I have ever supported the King’s measures; if I have ever afforded any assistance to government; if I have discharged my duty as a public or private character, by endeavouring to preserve pure and perfect the principles of the constitution, maintaining, unsullied, the honour of the courts of justice, and by an upright administration of, to give a due effect to the laws, I have hitherto done it without any other gift or reward than that most pleasing and most honourable one, the conscientious conviction of doing what was right.

of the royal residence from insult was then sufficiently provided for in Mr. Conway's firm-

I do not affect to scorn the opinion of mankind; I wish earnestly for popularity; I will seek and will have popularity; but I will tell you how I will obtain it; I will have that popularity which follows, and not that which is run after. It is not the applause of a day; it is not the huzzas of thousands that can give a moment's satisfaction to a rational being; that man's mind must indeed be a weak one, and his ambition of a most depraved sort, who can be captivated by such wretched allurements, or satisfied with such momentary gratifications. I say with the Roman orator, and can say it with as much truth as he did, '*Ego hoc animo semper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam, gloriam non infamiam putarem.*' But the threats have been carried further; personal violence has been denounced, unless public humour be complied with; I do not fear such threats; I do not believe there is any reason to fear them: it is not the genius of the worst of men in the worst of times to proceed to such shocking extremities: but if such an event should happen, let it be so; even such an event might be productive of wholesome effects; such a stroke might rouse the better part of the nation from their lethargic condition to a state of activity, to assert and execute the law, and punish the daring and impious hands which had violated it; and those who now supinely behold the danger which threatens all liberty, from the most abandoned licentiousness, might, by such an event, be awakened to a sense of their situation, as drunken men are oftentimes stunned into sobriety. If the security of our persons and our property, of all we hold dear and valuable, are to depend upon the caprice of a giddy multitude, or to be at the disposal of a giddy mob; if, in compliance with the humours, and to appease the clamours of those, all civil and political institutions are to be disregarded or overthrown, a life somewhat more than sixty is not worth preserving

ness* and Lord Weymouth's discretion; while the prime minister of Great Britain, in a rural retirement, and in the arms of faded beauty†, had lost all memory of his Sovereign, his country and himself. In these instances you might have acted with vigour, for you would have had the sanction of the laws to support you. The friends of government might have defended you without shame, and moderate men, who wish well to the peace and good order of society, might have had a pretence for applauding your conduct. But these it seems were not occasions worthy of your Grace's interposition. You reserved the proofs of your intrepid spirit for trials of greater hazard and importance; and now, as if the most disgraceful relaxation of the execu-

preserving at such a price, and he can never die too soon, who lays down his life in support and vindication of the policy, the government and the constitution of his country." EDIT.

* The Hon. Henry Seymour Conway was brother to Lord Hertford, and father of the present Mrs. Damer, who constitutes indeed his only issue. He had enjoyed several places of high rank and confidence at court during the beginning of his Majesty's reign, but was stripped of them all by the Duke of Grafton, in consequence of having voted in the lower house, in opposition to government, upon the question of General Warrants. He was a man of an independent mind, but often wavering in his opinion, and like his favourite cousin, Horace Walpole, much attached to literature and the fine arts. EDIT.

† The duke of Grafton was, at that time, living with the celebrated Nancy Parsons, afterwards Lady Maynard. EDIT.

tive authority had given you a claim of credit to indulge in excesses still more dangerous, you seem determined to compensate amply for your former negligence; and to balance the non-execution of the laws with a breach of the constitution. From one extreme you suddenly start to the other, without leaving, between the weakness and the fury of the passions, one moment's interval for the firmness of the understanding.

These observations, general as they are, might easily be extended into a faithful history of your Grace's administration, and perhaps may be the employment of a future hour. But the business of the present moment will not suffer me to look back to a series of events, which cease to be interesting or important, because they are succeeded by a measure so singularly daring, that it excites all our attention, and engrosses all our resentment.

Your patronage of Mr. Luttrell has been crowned with success*. With this precedent

* In the contest for the county of Middlesex, the House of Commons, on the 3d of February, 1769, had proceeded to the severe step of expelling Mr. Wilkes, for, among other offences, republishing, in the St. James's Chronicle, Lord Weymouth's letter to Mr. Justice Ponton, one of the magistrates for Surry, with the ensuing prefatory remarks: "I send you the following authentic state paper, the date of which, prior by more than three weeks to the fatal 10th of May,

before you, with the principles on which it was established, and with a future House of Commons, perhaps less virtuous than the present, every county in England, under the auspices of the treasury, may be represented as completely as the county of Middlesex. Posterity will be

May, 1768, shews how long the horrid massacre in St. George's Fields had been planned and determined upon, before it was carried into execution, and how long a hellish project can be brooded over by some infernal spirits, without one moment's remorse." Mr. Wilkes having admitted the publication, the house resolved, "That John Wilkes, Esq. a member of this house, who hath, at the bar of this house, confessed himself to be the author and publisher of what this house has resolved to be an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel; and who has been convicted in the court of King's Bench, of having printed and published a seditious libel, and three obscene and impious libels; and, by the judgment of the said court, has been sentenced to undergo twenty-two months imprisonment, and is now in execution under the said judgment, be expelled this house," which was carried in the affirmative by 219 against 137. On the 16th of February, 1769, he was a second time returned for Middlesex without opposition. On the day following the election was vacated, and he was declared by a majority of the house, incapable of being elected into that parliament. Notwithstanding this resolution of the house, he was a third time, March 10, elected without opposition; for Dingley, as before observed, had not been able to obtain even a nomination. This election, however, was also declared void the next day. The great mass of Middlesex freeholders, was in consequence thrown into a more violent commotion than ever, and insisted upon their right to return whomsoever they pleased, let parliament expel him as often as it pleased. Wilkes was a third time expelled: and to oppose him with a certainty of

indebted to your Grace for not contenting yourself with a temporary expedient, but entailing upon them the immediate blessings of your administration. Boroughs were already too much at the mercy of government. Counties could neither be purchased nor intimidated. But their solemn determined election may be

of success, another device was now contrived, and under the promise that he should certainly be seated for the county in opposition to Wilkes, Col. Luttrell was prevailed upon to relinquish the seat he then held, and to oppose him with all the force that could be mustered up on the occasion. With every possible effort exerted in his favour, however, Luttrell was incapable of obtaining more than two hundred and ninety-six votes, and Wilkes was again returned *almost* unanimously. The ministry were intimidated: but still resolved to carry their new device into effect. Wilkes was not now, therefore, to be openly re-expelled, but, which amounted to the same thing, to be declared incapable of sitting in parliament in consequence of his previous expulsion, and Luttrell was of course declared the sitting member. Yet, with an incongruity not often to be paralleled, the sheriffs, instead of being punished, were admitted to have done their duty, in allowing Wilkes to have become a candidate, and in returning him as fairly elected.

The nation at large now joined in the cause of the Middlesex freeholders; the parliament from exercising the unconstitutional act of rejecting one person who was a real member of its body, without an adequate cause, and in admitting another person to be a member who had never been returned by a majority of votes, was declared to have passed into a state of political incapacity, every vote and act of which must necessarily be incompetent and illegislative, and the throne was thronged with petitions and remonstrances from every part of the kingdom, beseeching his Majesty to dissolve it. EDIT.

rejected, and the man they detest may be appointed, by another choice, to represent them in parliament. Yet it is admitted, that the sheriffs obeyed the laws and performed their duty*. The return they made must have been legal and valid, or undoubtedly they would have been censured for making it. With every good-natured allowance for your Grace's youth and inexperience, there are some things which you cannot but know. You cannot but know that the right of the freeholders, to adhere to their choice (even supposing it improperly exerted) was as clear and indisputable as that of the House of Commons to exclude one of their own members:—nor is it possible for you not to see the wide distance there is between the negative power of rejecting one man, and the positive power of appointing another. The right of expulsion, in the most favourable sense, is no more than the custom of parliament. The right of election is the very essence of the constitution. To violate that right, and much more to transfer it to any other set of men, is a step leading immediately to the dissolution of all government. So far forth as it operates, it constitutes a House of Commons, which *does not*

* Sir Fletcher Norton, when it was proposed to punish the sheriffs, declared in the House of Commons that they, in returning Mr. Wilkes, had done no more than their duty.

represent the people. A House of Commons so formed would involve a contradiction and the grossest confusion of ideas; but there are some ministers, my Lord, whose views can only be answered by reconciling absurdities, and making the same proposition, which is false and absurd in argument, true in fact.

This measure, my Lord, is however attended with one consequence, favourable to the people, which I am persuaded you did not foresee*. While the contest lay between the ministry and Mr. Wilkes, his situation and private character gave you advantages over him, which common candour, if not the memory of your former friendship, should have forbidden you to make use of. To religious men, you had an opportunity of exaggerating the irregularities of his past life;—to moderate men you held forth the pernicious consequences of faction. Men, who with this character, looked no farther than to the object before them, were not dissatisfied at seeing Mr. Wilkes excluded from parliament. You have now taken care to shift the question; or, rather, you have created a new one, in which Mr. Wilkes is no more concerned than any other English gentleman. You have united this country against you on one grand constitu-

* The reader is desired to mark this prophecy.

tional point, on the decision of which our existence as a free people, absolutely depends. You have asserted, not in words but in fact, that representation in parliament does not depend upon the choice of the freeholders. If such a case can possibly happen once, it may happen frequently ; it may happen always—and if three hundred votes by any mode of reasoning whatsoever, can prevail against twelve hundred, the same reasoning would equally have given Mr. Luttrell his seat with ten votes, or even with one. The consequences of this attack upon the constitution are too plain and palpable not to alarm the dullest apprehension. I trust you will find, that the people of England are neither deficient in spirit nor understanding, though you have treated them, as if they had neither sense to feel, nor spirit to resent. We have reason to thank God and our ancestors, that there never yet was a minister in this country, who could stand the issue of such a conflict ; and with every prejudice in favour of your intentions, I see no such abilities in your Grace, as should entitle you to succeed in an enterprize, in which the ablest and basest of your predecessors have found their destruction. You may continue to deceive your gracious master with false representations of the temper and condition of his subjects. You may com-

mand a venal vote, because it is the common established appendage of your office. But never hope that the freeholders will make a tame surrender of their rights, or that an English army will join with you in overturning the liberties of their country. They know that their first duty, as citizens, is paramount to all subsequent engagements, nor will they prefer the discipline, nor even the honours of their profession, to those sacred original rights, which belonged to them before they were soldiers, and which they claim and possess as the birthright of Englishmen.

Return, my Lord, before it be too late, to that easy insipid system, which you first set out with. Take back your mistress* ;—the name of friend may be fatal to her, for it leads to treachery and persecution. Indulge the people. Attend Newmarket. Mr. Luttrell may again vacate his seat ; and Mr. Wilkes, if not persecuted, will soon be forgotten. To be weak and inactive is safer than to be daring and criminal ; and wide is the distance between a riot of the populace and a convulsion of the whole

* The Duke, about this time, had separated himself from Ann Parsons, but proposed to continue united with her, on some platonic terms of friendship, which she rejected with contempt. His baseness to this woman is beyond description or belief.

kingdom. You may live to make the experiment, but no honest man can wish you should survive it.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XII.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

30 May, 1769.

IF the measures in which you have been most successful, had been supported by any tolerable appearance of argument, I should have thought my time not ill employed, in continuing to examine your conduct as a minister, and stating it fairly to the public. But when I see questions, of the highest national importance, carried as they have been, and the first principles of the constitution openly violated, without argument or decency, I confess, I give up the cause in despair. The meanest of your predecessors had abilities sufficient to give a colour to their measures. If they invaded the rights of the people, they did not dare to offer a direct insult to their understanding; and, in former times, the most venal parliaments made it a condition, in their bargain with the minister, that he should furnish them with some plausible pretences for selling their country and them-

selves. You have had the merit of introducing a more compendious system of government and logic. You neither address yourself to the passions, nor to the understanding, but simply to the touch. You apply yourself immediately to the feelings of your friends, who, contrary to the forms of parliament, never enter heartily into a debate, until they have divided.

Relinquishing, therefore, all idle views of amendment to your Grace, or of benefit to the public, let me be permitted to consider your character and conduct merely as a subject of curious speculation.—There is something in both, which distinguishes you not only from all other ministers, but all other men. It is not that you do wrong by design, but that you should never do right by mistake. It is not that your indolence and your activity have been equally misapplied, but that the first uniform principle, or, if I may call it the genius of your life, should have carried you through every possible change and contradiction of conduct, without the momentary imputation or colour of a virtue; and that the wildest spirit of inconsistency should never once have betrayed you into a wise or honourable action. This, I own, gives an air of singularity to your fortune, as well as to your disposition. Let us look back together to a scene, in which a mind like yours will find

nothing to repent of. Let us try, my Lord, how well you have supported the various relations in which you stood, to your Sovereign, your country, your friends, and yourself. Give us, if it be possible, some excuse to posterity, and to ourselves, for submitting to your administration. If not the abilities of a great minister,* if not the integrity of a patriot, or the fidelity of a friend, shew us, at least the firmness of a man.—For the sake of your mistress, the lover shall be spared. I will not lead her into public, as you have done, nor will I insult the memory of departed beauty. Her sex, which alone made her amiable in your eyes, makes her respectable in mine.

The character of the reputed ancestors of some men, has made it possible for their descendants to be vicious in the extreme, without being degenerate. Those of your Grace, for instance, left no distressing examples of virtue, even to their legitimate posterity, and you may look back with pleasure to an illustrious pedigree, in which heraldry has not left a single good quality upon record to insult or upbraid you*. You have better proofs of your descent,

* The first Duke of Grafton was a natural son of Charles II. During the progress of the revolution he abandoned the Stuarts for King William; and his descendants had hitherto generally ranked themselves among the party of the Whigs. EDIT.

my Lord, than the register of a marriage, or any troublesome inheritance of reputation. There are some hereditary strokes of character, by which a family may be as clearly distinguished as by the blackest features of the human face. Charles the first lived and died a hypocrite. Charles the second was a hypocrite of another sort, and should have died upon the same scaffold. At the distance of a century, we see their different characters happily revived, and blended in your Grace. Sullen and severe without religion, profligate without gaiety, you live like Charles the second, without being an amiable companion, and, for aught I know, may die as his father did, without the reputation of a martyr.

You had already taken your degrees with credit in those schools, in which the English nobility are formed to virtue, when you were introduced to Lord Chatham's protection*. From Newmarket, White's, and the Opposition, he gave you to the world with an air of popularity, which young men usually set out with, and seldom preserve:—grave and plausible enough to be thought fit for business; too young for treachery; and, in short, a patriot of no unpromising expectations. Lord Chatham was the

* To understand these passages, the reader is referred to a noted pamphlet, called the *History of the Minority*.

earliest object of your political wonder and attachment*; yet you deserted him, upon the first hopes that offered of an equal share of power with Lord Rockingham. When the Duke of Cumberland's first negociation failed, and when the favourite was pushed to the last extremity, you saved him, by joining with an administration, in which Lord Chatham had refused to engage. Still, however, he was your friend, and

* The Duke of Grafton was first introduced into the political world at an early period of life, under the auspices and protection of Lord Chatham (then Mr. Pitt) as a determined Whig. To the administration of Lord Egremont and the Earl of Granville succeeded that of the Duke of Bedford, who soon became obnoxious to Lord Bute, the guardian of his Majesty's non-age, and still his confidential adviser. The Duke of Cumberland was deputed to propose another administration conjointly to Mr. Pitt, Lord Temple, and Lord Lyttleton. They all objected, however, to the undue influence of the noble favourite, and the duke's proposal was declined. The Marquis of Rockingham was now applied to, and prevailed upon to take the lead, and form an administration of his own: Mr. Pitt refused to unite in it, but the Duke of Grafton deserted him, and accepted the office of secretary of state. With this administration, however, he soon became chagrined and resigned his office. Lord Chatham again received him into communion; and in the ministry, shortly after planned and carried into effect by himself, in which he held the privy seal, he nominated the Duke of Grafton first lord of the treasury. At the head of this new system, however, Lord Chatham did not long continue—he withdrew in disgust; but the noble duke, instead of following him, took the lead upon himself, and commenced an administration of his own. EDIT.

you are yet to explain to the world, why you consented to act without him, or why, after uniting with Lord Rockingham, you deserted and betrayed him. You complained that no measures were taken to satisfy your patron, and that your friend, Mr. Wilkes, who had suffered so much for the party, had been abandoned to his fate. They have since contributed, not a little, to your present plenitude of power ; yet, I think, Lord Chatham has less reason than ever to be satisfied ; and as for Mr. Wilkes, it is, perhaps, the greatest misfortune of his life, that you should have so many compensations to make in the closet for your former friendship with him. Your gracious master understands your character, and makes you a persecutor, because you have been a friend.

Lord Chatham formed his last administration upon principles which you certainly concurred in, or you could never have been placed at the head of the treasury. By deserting those principles, and by acting in direct contradiction to them, in which he found you were secretly supported in the closet, you soon forced him to leave you to yourself, and to withdraw his name from an administration, which had been formed on the credit of it. You had then a prospect of friendships better suited to your genius, and more likely to fix your disposition. Marriage

is the point on which every rake is stationary at last ; and truly, my Lord, you may well be weary of the circuit you have taken, for you have now fairly travelled through every sign in the political zodiac, from the Scorpion, in which you stung Lord Chatham, to the hopes of a Virgin* in the house of Bloomsbury. One would think that you had had sufficient experience of the frailty of nuptial engagements, or, at least, that such a friendship as the Duke of Bedford's, might have been secured to you by the auspicious marriage of your late Duchess with † his nephew. But ties of this tender nature cannot be drawn too close ; and it may possibly be a part of the Duke of Bedford's ambition, after making *her* an honest woman, to work a miracle of the same sort upon your Grace. This worthy nobleman has long dealt in virtue. There has been a large consumption of it in his own family ; and, in the way of traffick, I dare say, he has bought and sold more than half the representative integrity of the nation.

In a political view, this union is not imprudent. The favour of princes is a perishable commodity. You have now a strength sufficient to

* His Grace had lately married Miss Wrottesley, niece of the *Good Gertrude, Duchess of Bedford*.

† Miss Liddel, after her divorce from the *Duke*, married Lord Upper Ossory.

command the closet; and, if it be necessary to betray one friendship more, you may set even Lord Bute at defiance. Mr. Stuart Mackenzie may possibly remember what use the Duke of Bedford usually makes of his power*; and our gracious Sovereign, I doubt not, rejoices at this first appearance of union among his servants. His late Majesty, under the happy influence of a family connexion between his ministers, was relieved from the cares of government. A more active prince may perhaps observe, with suspicion, by what degrees an artful servant grows upon his master, from the first unlimited professions of duty and attachment, to the painful representation of the necessity of the royal service, and soon, in regular progression, to the humble insolence of dictating in all the obsequious forms of peremptory submission. The interval is carefully employed in forming connexions, creating interests, collecting a party, and laying the foundation of double marriage†;

* Mr. Stuart Mackenzie was brother to the earl of Bute. The Duke of Bedford's abuse of power here referred to, is again noticed in JUNIUS, Letter xxxvi. and consisted in compelling his Majesty to displace Mr. Mackenzie from the office of Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, shortly after his appointment, in favour of Lord Frederick Campbell. In this act of coercion Mr. Grenville bore an equal part with the noble duke. Upon the resignation of these ministers, Mr. Stuart Mackenzie was reinstated in his former post. EDIT.

† See notes in the preceding page. EDIT.

until the deluded prince, who thought he had found a creature prostituted to his service, and insignificant enough to be always dependent upon his pleasure, finds him at last too strong to be commanded, and too formidable to be removed.

Your Grace's public conduct, as a minister, is but the counterpart of your private history; —the same inconsistency, the same contradictions. In America we trace you, from the first opposition to the Stamp Act*, on principles of

* At the period here referred to, the American colonies had acquired such a population, and proportion of public wealth, as to render it necessary to enquire, more critically than had hitherto been done into the peculiar mode of its political connexion with the mother country, and to bind it to the latter in a more definite bond. It was found that most of the provincial departments were chartered by the crown and expressly exempted from legislative taxation, but that others were not chartered in any way, and of course possessed no such privilege. From the capacity of their being now able to contribute to the exigencies of the state, from a desire to equalize the entire colonization, and from a professed belief that charters granted by the crown with such an exemption as above, displayed an undue stretch of the prerogative, it was determined upon, by Mr. Grenville's administration, to bring the matter boldly to an issue, and for the legislature to claim an authority over the colonies by passing an act which should immediately affect them. The statute enacted for this purpose was the *Stamp Act*, which imposed a duty upon many of the articles most current through the colonies. The colonies were thrown into a general commotion by this measure, the duty could not

convenience, to Mr. Pitt's surrender of the right; then forward to Lord Rockingham's surrender of the fact; then back again to Lord Rockingham's declaration of the right; then forward to taxation with Mr. Townshend; and in the last instance, from the gentle Conway's undetermined discretion, to blood and compulsion with the Duke of Bedford *: Yet if we may believe

be collected, and almost every province became ripe for rebellion.

At home the members of opposition doubted, or affected to doubt, both the propriety and legality of the conduct of administration. Mr. Pitt denied the *right*, the Marquis of Rockingham admitted the right, but denied the *expediency*; while many politicians perplexed by the sophistry advanced by the pleaders on all sides, vacillated in their opinion, and sometimes united with one party and sometimes with another. Of this last description was the Duke of Grafton, who occasionally favoured Mr. Pitt's opinion, occasionally the Marquis of Rockingham's, and at last sided with Mr. Charles Townshend in a determined resolution to carry the system of taxation into effect at all hazards. EDIT.

* Mr. Knox, in his "Extra official State Papers," from which extracts have been made in notes to Miscellaneous Letters, Nos. xxxi. and liii. narrates the following anecdote as having happened to himself on the repeal of the Stamp Act.

"The morning after the resolution passed in the House of Commons, to repeal the Stamp Act, and to bring in the declaratory bill, I was sent for to a meeting of the Opposition at Mr. Rigby's in Parliament Street; when I came there, Mr. Grenville and Mr. Rigby came out to me and told me, the Duke of Bedford and several others desired to know my opinion of the effects which those resolutions would produce in America. My

the simplicity of Lord North's eloquence, at the opening of next sessions you are once more to be the patron of America. Is this the wisdom of a great minister? or is it the ominous vibration of a pendulum? Had you no opinion of your own, my Lord? or was it the gratification of betraying every party with which you have been united, and of deserting every political principle, in which you had concurred?

Your enemies may turn their eyes without regret from this admirable system of provincial government. They will find gratification enough in the survey of your domestic and foreign policy.

If, instead of disowning Lord Shelburne, the British court had interposed with dignity and firmness, you know, my Lord, that Corsica would never have been invaded *. The French saw the weakness of a distracted ministry, and were

answer was in few words—*addresses of thanks and measures of rebellion*. Mr. Grenville smiled and shook his head, and Mr. Rigby swore by G—d he thought so, and both wished me a good morning." EDIT.

* Lord Shelburne, father to the present Marquis of Lansdown, while secretary of state, instructed our ambassador at the court of Versailles to remonstrate, in very spirited terms, on the intended invasion of Corsica by the French. His Lordship's conduct, however, was disavowed by his colleagues, and he resigned his situation, Oct. 21, 1768. But see note to Letter III. p. 72.

justified in treating you with contempt. They would probably have yielded in the first instance, rather than hazard a rupture with this country; but, being once engaged, they cannot retreat without dishonour. Common sense foresees consequences, which have escaped your Grace's penetration. Either we suffer the French to make an acquisition, the importance of which you have probably no conception of, or we oppose them by an underhand management, which only disgraces us in the eyes of Europe, without answering any purpose of policy or prudence. From secret, indirect assistance, a transition to some more open decisive measures becomes unavoidable; till at last we find ourselves principals in the war, and are obliged to hazard every thing for an object, which might have originally been obtained without expense or danger. I am not versed in the politics of the north; but this I believe is certain, that half the money you have distributed to carry the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, or even your secretary's share in the last subscription, would have kept the Turks at your devotion *. Was it œconomy, my Lord? or did

* The Ottoman Porte was at this time in the hands of French influence; the court of Tuilleries supplying it with French officers, and instructing it, through their means, in modern tactics, so as to enable it to support more successfully the war in which it was engaged with Russia. The growing extent of French influence

the coy resistance you have constantly met with in the British senate, make you despair of corrupting the Divan? Your friends indeed have the first claim upon your bounty, but if five hundred pounds a year can be spared in pension to Sir John Moore *, it would not have disgraced you to have allowed something to the secret service of the public.

You will say perhaps that the situation of affairs at home demanded and engrossed the whole of your attention. Here, I confess, you have been active. An amiable, accomplished Prince ascends the throne under the happiest of all auspices, the acclamations and united affections of his subjects. The first measures of his reign, and even the odium of a favourite, were not able to shake their attachment. *Your* services, my Lord, have been more successful. Since you were permitted to take the lead, we have seen the natural effects of a system of government, at once both odious and contemptible. We have seen the laws sometimes scandalously relaxed, sometimes violently stretched beyond

influence over the continent, might in this instance perhaps have easily been curtailed by a little address, and even transferred to the court of St. James's. EDIT.

* Sir John Moore was an old Newmarket acquaintance of his Grace's, where he succeeded in completely squandering away his private fortune. The Duke of Grafton, out of compassion, obtained for him the pension in question. EDIT.

their tone. We have seen the sacred person of the Sovereign insulted ; and in profound peace, and with an undisputed title, the fidelity of his subjects brought by his own servants into public question*. Without abilities, resolution, or interest, you have done more than Lord Bute could accomplish with all Scotland at his heels.

Your Grace, little anxious perhaps either for present or future reputation, will not desire to be handed down in these colours to posterity. You have reason to flatter yourself that the memory of your administration will survive even the forms of a constitution, which our ancestors vainly hoped would be immortal ; and as for your personal character, I will not, for the honour of human nature, suppose that you can wish to have it remembered. The condition of the present times is desperate indeed ; but there is a debt due to those who come after us, and it is the historian's office to punish, though he cannot correct. I do not give you to posterity as a pattern to imitate, but as an example to deter ; and as your conduct comprehends every thing that a wise or honest minister should avoid, I

* The wise Duke, about this time, exerted all the influence of government to procure addresses to satisfy the King of the fidelity of his subjects. They came in very thick from Scotland ; but, after the appearance of this letter, we heard no more of them.

mean to make you a negative instruction to your successors for ever.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XIII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

12 June, 1769.

THE Duke of Grafton's friends, not finding it convenient to enter into a contest with JUNIUS, are now reduced to the last melancholy resource of defeated argument, the flat general charge of scurrility and falsehood. As for his stile, I shall leave it to the critics. The truth of his facts is of more importance to the public. They are of such a nature, that I think a bare contradiction will have no weight with any man, who judges for himself. Let us take them in the order in which they appear in his last letter.

1. Have not the first rights of the people, and the first principles of the constitution been openly invaded, and the very name of an election made ridiculous by the arbitrary appointment of Mr. Luttrell?

2. Did not the Duke of Grafton frequently lead his mistress into public, and even place her at the head of his table, as if he had pulled down

an ancient * temple of Venus, and could bury all decency and shame under the ruins?—Is this the man who dares to talk of Mr. Wilkes's morals?

3. Is not the character of his presumptive ancestors as strongly marked in him, as if he had descended from them in a direct legitimate line? The idea of his death is only prophetic; and what is prophecy but a narrative preceding the fact?

4. Was not Lord Chatham the first who raised him to the rank and post of a minister, and the first whom he abandoned?

5. Did he not join with Lord Rockingham, and betray him?

6. Was he not the bosom friend of Mr. Wilkes, whom he now pursues to destruction?

7. Did he not take his degrees with credit at Newmarket, White's, and the Opposition?

* 8. After deserting Lord Chatham's principles, and sacrificing his friendship, is he not now closely united with a set of men, who, though they have occasionally joined with all parties, have in every different situation, and at all times, been equally and constantly detested by this country?

9. Has not Sir John Moore a pension of five hundred pounds a year?—This may probably be an acquittance of favours upon the turf; but

* Miss Parsons had at this time surpassed the prime both of her youth and beauty.

See this anecdote related more in detail in Miscellaneous Letters, No. xx. EDIT.

is it possible for a minister to offer a grosser outrage to a nation, which has so very lately cleared away the beggary of the civil list, at the expense of more than half a million?

10. Is there any one mode of thinking or acting with respect to America, which the Duke of Grafton has not successively adopted and abandoned?

11. Is there not a singular mark of shame set upon this man, who has so little delicacy and feeling as to submit to the opprobrium of marrying a near relation of one who had debauched his wife?—In the name of decency, how are these amiable cousins to meet at their uncle's table?—It will be a scene in *Œdipus*, without the distress.—Is it wealth, or wit, or beauty,—or is the amorous youth in love?

The rest is notorious. That Corsica has been sacrificed to the French: that in some instances the laws have been scandalously relaxed, and in others daringly violated; and that the King's subjects have been called upon to assure him of their fidelity, in spite of the measures of his servants.

A writer, who builds his arguments upon facts such as these, is not easily to be confuted. He is not to be answered by general assertions, or general reproaches. He may want eloquence to amuse or persuade, but, speaking truth, he must always convince.

PHILO JUNIUS.

LETTER XIV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

22 June, 1769.

THE name of *Old Noll* is destined to be the ruin of the house of Stuart. There is an ominous fatality in it, which even the spurious descendants of the family cannot escape. Oliver Cromwell had the merit of conducting Charles the first to the block. Your correspondent OLD NOLL*, appears to have the same design upon the Duke of Grafton. His arguments consist better with the title he has assumed, than with the principles he professes; for though he pretends to be an advocate for the Duke, he takes care to give us the best reasons, why his patron should regularly follow the fate of his presumptive ancestor.—Through the whole course of the Duke of Grafton's life, I see a strange endeavour to

* A correspondent under this signature replied to the preceding letter of PHILO JUNIUS, in the Public Advertiser, dated June 19; introducing his observations with the following paragraph.

“ Though PHILO JUNIUS is, in every sense, unworthy of an answer as a writer; yet as he has compressed into small compass what he calls the facts advanced by JUNIUS, I will answer them briefly one by one, and for ever drop a subject that could only acquire consequence by discussing it in a serious manner.”

EDIT.

unite contradictions, which cannot be reconciled. He marries to be divorced;—he keeps a mistress to remind him of conjugal endearments, and he chooses such friends, as it is a virtue in him to desert. If it were possible for the genius of that accomplished president, who pronounced sentence upon Charles the first, to be revived in some modern sycophant*, his Grace, I doubt not, would by sympathy discover him among the dregs of mankind, and take him for a guide in those paths, which naturally conduct the minister to the scaffold.

* It is hardly necessary to remind the reader of the name of *Bradshaw*. AUTHOR.

And as little so that Old Noll was the nick name of Oliver Cromwell. There is a peculiar severity in the comparison of the two periods and the two families. The Duke of Grafton was descended from the Stuarts; and Bradshaw was the name of the president of the regicide court, which, under the secret influence of Oliver Cromwell, (or Old Noll) condemned Charles the first to death. Bradshaw was the name of the Duke of Grafton's private secretary at the present moment, and JUNIUS here insinuates that he was also the author of the letter signed Old Noll, which had a chance of proving as fatal to his Grace's cause, as ever the names of Bradshaw or Old Noll had proved fatal to his Grace's ancestor.

Bradshaw, before his present appointment, had been an under-clerk in the war-office, and was raised to the rank of private secretary, for his activity and dispatch of business. In the month of May, 1772, he was appointed a lord of the admiralty.

For a further account, see Letter XXXVI. note. EDIT.

The assertion that two thirds of the nation approve of the *acceptance* of Mr. Luttrell (for even *Old Noll* is too modest to call it an election) can neither be maintained nor confuted by argument. It is a point of fact, on which every English gentleman will determine for himself. As to lawyers, their profession is supported by the indiscriminate defence of right and wrong, and I confess I have not that opinion of their knowledge or integrity, to think it necessary that they should decide for me upon a plain constitutional question. With respect to the appointment of Mr. Luttrell, the chancellor has never yet given any authentic opinion*. Sir Fletcher Norton† is indeed an honest, a very honest man; and the Attorney General‡ is *ex officio* the guardian of liberty, to take care, I presume, that it shall never break out into a criminal excess. Doctor Blackstone is solicitor to the Queen. The Doctor recollected that he had a place to preserve, though he forgot that he had a reputation to lose. We have now the good fortune to understand the Doctor's principles, as well as writings. For the defence of truth, of law, and reason, the Doctor's book may

* Lord Camden. EDIT.

† At this time Chief Justice in Eyre, and just appointed a privy counsellor, with a salary of 3000l. EDIT.

‡ Mr. De Grey, afterwards Lord Walsingham. EDIT.

be safely consulted; but whoever wishes to cheat a neighbour of his estate*, or to rob a country of its rights†, need make no scruple of consulting the Doctor himself.

The example of the English nobility may, for aught I know, sufficiently justify the Duke of Grafton, when he indulges his genius in all the fashionable excesses of the age; yet, considering his rank and station, I think it would do him more honour to be able to deny the fact, than to defend it by such authority. But if vice itself could be excused, there is yet a certain display of it, a certain outrage to decency, and violation of public decorum, which, for the benefit of society, should never be forgiven. It is not that he kept a mistress at home, but that he constantly attended her abroad.—It is not the private indulgence, but the public insult of which I complain. The name of Miss Parsons would hardly have been known, if the first lord of the treasury had not led her in triumph through the Opera House, even in the presence of the

* Doctor Blackstone had been, unfortunately for himself, an adviser of Sir James Lowther against the Duke of Portland, in the dispute concerning the Cumberland crown lands, upon the obsolete law of *nullum tempus*. See Letter LVII. EDIT.

† Doctor Blackstone had also supported government in its rejection of Mr. Wilkes, as member for the county of Middlesex. See Letters of Junius, No. XVIII. as also Miscellaneous Letters, No. LVI. subscribed Simplex. EDIT.

Queen*. When we see a man act in this manner, we may admit the shameless depravity of his heart, but what are we to think of his understanding?

His Grace, it seems, is now to be a regular domestic man, and as an omen of the future delicacy and correctness of his conduct, he marries a first cousin of the man, who had fixed that mark and title of infamy upon him, which, at the same moment, makes a husband unhappy and ridiculous. The ties of consanguinity may possibly preserve him from the same fate a second time, and as to the distress of meeting, I take for granted the venerable uncle of these common cousins has settled the etiquette in such a manner, that, if a mistake should happen, it may reach no farther than from *Madame ma femme* to *Madame ma cousine*.

The Duke of Grafton has always some excellent reason for deserting his friends.—The age and incapacity of Lord Chatham†;—the debility of Lord Rockingham;—or the infamy of Mr. Wilkes. There was a time indeed when he did not appear to be quite so well acquainted, or so

* See this transaction more fully detailed in *Miscellaneous Letters*, No. XX. EDIT.

† Lord Chatham, it is well known, laboured under a premature decrepitude of body, from frequent and violent attacks of the gout; but his mind was never affected by such paroxysms. EDIT.

violently offended with the infirmities of his friends. But now I confess they are not ill exchanged for the youthful, vigorous virtue of the Duke of Bedford;—the firmness of General Conway*;—the blunt, or if I may call it, the awkward integrity of Mr. Rigby†, and the spotless morality of Lord Sandwich‡.

If a large pension to a broken gambler || be an act worthy of commendation, the Duke of Grafton's connexions will furnish him with many opportunities of doing praiseworthy actions; and as he himself bears no part of the expense, the generosity of distributing the public money for the support of virtuous families in distress will be an unquestionable proof of his Grace's humanity.

* See his character in Letter xx. note. EDIT.

† Mr. Rigby was introduced into political life by the Duke of Bedford, to whom he had chiefly recommended himself by his convivial talents. He at length attained the lucrative post of paymaster of the British forces. His pretensions to *integrity* are well known, even to the present moment, to have been rather *awkward*.

‡ It was Lord Sandwich, who, in conjunction with Dr. Warburton, complained to the House of Lords, of Wilkes's Essay on Woman, and induced their lordships interference; in consequence of which, the writer was prosecuted by the crown. The irony of the expression here adopted proceeds from the well known fact that Lord Sandwich was at this very time the most profligate and blasphemous of all the Bedford party. EDIT.

|| Sir John Moore.

As to public affairs, *Old Noll* is a little tender of descending to particulars. He does not deny that *Corsica* has been sacrificed to France, and he confesses, that with regard to America, his patron's measures have been subject to some variation; but then he promises wonders of stability and firmness for the future. These are mysteries, of which we must not pretend to judge by experience; and truly, I fear, we shall perish in the Desert, before we arrive at the Land of Promise. In the regular course of things, the period of the Duke of Grafton's ministerial manhood should now be approaching. The imbecility of his infant state was committed to Lord Chatham. Charles Townshend took some care of his education * at that ambiguous age, which lies between the follies of political childhood, and the vices of puberty. The empire of the passions soon succeeded. His earliest principles and connexions were of course forgotten or despised. The company he has lately kept has been of no service to his morals;

* Charles Townshend, younger brother of the first Marquis Townshend, who had been inducted into political life under the banners of the first Lord Holland, drew up the plan for taxing America, which the Duke of Grafton was persuaded to adopt, and thus avowed himself to be, in this instance, a pupil of Charles Townshend, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer at the period here referred to, in which office he died, and was succeeded by Lord North in 1767. EDIT.

and, in the conduct of public affairs, we see the character of his time of life strongly distinguished. An obstinate ungovernable self-sufficiency plainly points out to us that state of imperfect maturity, at which the graceful levity of youth is lost, and the solidity of experience not yet acquired. It is possible the young man may in time grow wiser, and reform; but, if I understand his disposition, it is not of such corrigible stuff, that we should hope for any amendment in him, before he has accomplished the destruction of this country. Like other rakes, he may perhaps live to see his error, but not until he has ruined his estate.

PHILO JUNIUS.

LETTER XV.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

8 July, 1769.

If nature had given you an understanding qualified to keep pace with the wishes and principles of your heart, she would have made you, perhaps, the most formidable minister that ever was employed, under a limited monarch, to accomplish the ruin of a free people. When neither the feelings of shame, the reproaches of conscience, nor the dread of punishment, form any bar to the designs of a minister, the people

would have too much reason to lament their condition, if they did not find some resource in the weakness of his understanding. We owe it to the bounty of Providence, that the completest depravity of the heart is sometimes strangely united with a confusion of the mind, which counteracts the most favourite principles, and makes the same man treacherous without art, and a hypocrite without deceiving. The measures, for instance, in which your Grace's activity has been chiefly exerted, as they were adopted without skill, should have been conducted with more than common dexterity. But truly, my Lord, the execution has been as gross as the design. By one decisive step, you have defeated all the arts of writing. You have fairly confounded the intrigues of opposition, and silenced the clamours of faction. A dark, ambiguous system might require and furnish the materials of ingenious illustration; and, in doubtful measures, the virulent exaggeration of party must be employed, to rouse and engage the passions of the people. You have now brought the merits of your administration to an issue, on which every Englishman, of the narrowest capacity, may determine for himself. It is not an alarm to the passions, but a calm appeal to the judgment of the people, upon their own most essential interests. A more experienced

minister would not have hazarded a direct invasion of the first principles of the constitution, before he had made some progress in subduing the spirit of the people. With such a cause as yours, my Lord, it is not sufficient that you have the court at your devotion, unless you can find means to corrupt or intimidate the jury. The collective body of the people form that jury, and from *their* decision there is but one appeal.

Whether you have talents to support you, at a crisis of such difficulty and danger, should long since have been considered. Judging truly of your disposition, you have perhaps mistaken the extent of your capacity. Good faith and folly have so long been received as synonymous terms, that the reverse of the proposition has grown into credit, and every villain fancies himself a man of abilities. It is the apprehension of your friends, my Lord, that you have drawn some hasty conclusion of this sort, and that a partial reliance upon your moral character has betrayed you beyond the depth of your understanding. You have now carried things too far to retreat. You have plainly declared to the people what they are to expect from the continuance of your administration. It is time for your Grace to consider what you also may expect in return from *their* spirit and *their* resentment.

Since the accession of our most gracious Sovereign to the throne, we have seen a system of government, which may well be called a reign of experiments. Parties of all denominations have been employed and dismissed. The advice of the ablest men in this country has been repeatedly called for and rejected; and when the Royal displeasure has been signified to a minister, the marks of it have usually been proportioned to his abilities and integrity. The spirit of the FAVOURITE had some apparent influence upon every administration; and every set of ministers preserved an appearance of duration as long as they submitted to that influence. But there were certain services to be performed for the Favourite's security, or to gratify his resentments, which your predecessors in office had the wisdom or the virtue not to undertake. The moment this refractory spirit was discovered, their disgrace was determined. Lord Chatham, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Rockingham have successively had the honour to be dismissed for preferring their duty, as servants of the public, to those compliances which were expected from their station. A submissive administration was at last gradually collected from the deserters of all parties, interests, and connexions: and nothing remained but to find a leader for these gallant well-disciplined troops. Stand forth, my

Lord, for thou art the man. Lord Bute found no resource of dependance or security in the proud, imposing superiority of Lord Chatham's abilities, the shrewd inflexible judgment of Mr. Grenville *, nor in the mild but determined integrity of Lord Rockingham. His views and situation required a creature void of all these properties; and he was forced to go through every division, resolution, composition, and refinement of political chemistry, before he happily arrived at the *caput mortuum* of vitriol in your Grace. Flat and insipid in your retired state, but brought into action, you become vitriol again. Such are the extremes of alternate indolence or fury, which have governed your whole administration. Your circumstances with regard to the people soon becoming desperate,

* Mr. G. Grenville, younger brother of Lord Temple, and brother in law to Lord Chatham, was a political élève of his maternal uncle Lord Cobham. He first attached himself to the Tory party, in consequence of marrying the daughter of Sir Wm. Wyndham, the confidential friend of Bolingbroke, and father of Lord Egremont; and was made one of the secretaries of state, when Lord Bute in 1762 was appointed first Lord of the Treasury. He planned the American Stamp Act, and commenced the opposition to Wilkes. He afterwards, however, became disgusted with Lord Bute, and, upon his resignation, firmly attached himself to the party of Lord Rockingham; the most pure and unmixt Whig leader of his day, with whom also Lord Temple and the Earl of Chatham had now united themselves. EDIT.

like other honest servants, you determined to involve the best of masters in the same difficulties with yourself. We owe it to your Grace's well-directed labours, that your Sovereign has been persuaded to doubt of the affections of his subjects, and the people to suspect the virtues of their Sovereign, at a time when both were unquestionable. You have degraded the royal dignity into a base, dishonourable competition with Mr. Wilkes, nor had you abilities to carry even this last contemptible triumph over a private man, without the grossest violation of the fundamental laws of the constitution and rights of the people. But these are rights, my Lord, which you can no more annihilate, than you can the soil to which they are annexed. The question no longer turns upon points of national honour and security abroad, or on the degrees of expedience and propriety of measures at home. It was not inconsistent that you should abandon the cause of liberty in another country*, which you had persecuted in your own; and in the common arts of domestic corruption, we miss no part of Sir Robert Walpole's system† except his abilities. In this humble imitative line, you might long have proceeded, safe and contemptible. You might, probably, never have risen to

* Corsica. EDIT.

† See note to Letter xvi. p. 177. EDIT.

the dignity of being hated, and even have been despised with moderation. But it seems you meant to be distinguished, and, to a mind like yours, there was no other road to fame but by the destruction of a noble fabric, which you thought had been too long the admiration of mankind. The use you have made of the military force introduced an alarming change in the mode of executing the laws. The arbitrary appointment of Mr. Luttrell invades the foundation of the laws themselves, as it manifestly transfers the right of legislation from those whom the people have chosen, to those whom they have rejected. With a succession of such appointments, we may soon see a House of Commons collected, in the choice of which the other towns and counties of England will have as little share as the devoted county of Middlesex.

Yet, I trust, your Grace will find that the people of this country are neither to be intimidated by violent measures, nor deceived by refinements. When they see Mr. Luttrell seated in the House of Commons by mere dint of power, and in direct opposition to the choice of a whole county, they will not listen to those subtleties, by which every arbitrary exertion of authority is explained into the law and privilege of parliament. It requires no persuasion of argument, but simply the evidence of the senses, to con-

vince them, that to transfer the right of election from the collective to the representative body of the people, contradicts all those ideas of a House of Commons, which they have received from their forefathers, and which they have already, though vainly perhaps, delivered to their children. The principles, on which this violent measure has been defended, have added scorn to injury, and forced us to feel, that we are not only oppressed, but insulted.

With what force, my Lord, with what protection are you prepared to meet the united detestation of the people of England? The city of London has given a generous example to the kingdom, in what manner a king of this country ought to be addressed * ; and I fancy, my Lord, it is not yet in your courage to stand between your Sovereign and the addresses of his subjects. The injuries you have done this country are such as demand not only redress, but vengeance. In vain shall you look for protection to that venal vote, which you have already paid for—another must be purchased ; and to save a minister, the House of Commons must declare themselves not only independent of their constituents, but the determined enemies of the constitution. Con-

* See this subject farther noticed in JUNIUS's Letter xxxvii. Vol. II. p. 104.

sider, my Lord, whether this be an extremity to which their fears will permit them to advance; or, if *their* protection should fail you, how far you are authorized to rely upon the sincerity of those smiles, which a pious court lavishes without reluctance upon a libertine by profession. It is not, indeed, the least of the thousand contradictions which attend you, that a man, marked to the world by the grossest violation of all ceremony and decorum, should be the first servant of a court, in which prayers are morality, and kneeling is religion. Trust not too far to appearances, by which your predecessors have been deceived, though they have not been injured. Even the best of princes may at last discover, that this is a contention, in which every thing may be lost, but nothing can be gained; and as you became minister by accident, were adopted without choice, trusted without confidence, and continued without favour, be assured that, whenever an occasion presses, you will be discarded without even the forms of regret. You will then have reason to be thankful, if you are permitted to retire to that seat of learning, which, in contemplation of the system of your life, the comparative purity of your manners with those of their high steward, and a thousand other recommending circumstances, has chosen you to encourage the growing virtue of their youth, and

to preside over their education *. Whenever the spirit of distributing prebends and bishopricks shall have departed from you, you will find that learned seminary perfectly recovered from the delirium of an installation, and, what in truth it ought to be, once more a peaceful scene of slumber and thoughtless meditation. The venerable tutors of the university will no longer distress your modesty, by proposing you for a pattern to their pupils. The learned dulness of declamation will be silent †; and even the venal muse ‡, though happiest in fiction, will forget your virtues. Yet, for the benefit of the succeeding age, I could wish that your retreat might be deferred, until your morals shall happily be ripened to that maturity of corruption, at which the worst examples cease to be contagious.

JUNIUS.

* The Duke of Grafton was chancellor, and Lord Sandwich high steward of the university of Cambridge. EDIT.

† Dr. Johnson is the person here supposed to be hinted at by the author. EDIT.

‡ He alludes to Gray's celebrated Ode to Music, composed and performed on the installation of his Grace as chancellor of the university; beginning,

Hence! avaunt! 'tis holy ground—

Comus and his midnight crew, &c. EDIT.

LETTER XVI.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

19 July, 1769.

A GREAT deal of useless argument might have been saved, in the political contest which has arisen from the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, and the subsequent appointment of Mr. Luttrell, if the question had been once stated with precision, to the satisfaction of each party, and clearly understood by them both. But in this, as in almost every other dispute, it usually happens that much time is lost in referring to a multitude of cases and precedents, which prove nothing to the purpose, or in maintaining propositions, which are either not disputed, or, whether they be admitted or denied, are entirely indifferent as to the matter in debate; until at last the mind, perplexed and confounded with the endless subtleties of controversy, loses sight of the main question, and never arrives at truth. Both parties in the dispute are apt enough to practise these dishonest artifices. The man, who is conscious of the weakness of his cause, is interested in concealing it: and, on the other side, it is not uncommon to see a good cause mangled by advocates, who do not know the real strength of it.

I should be glad to know, for instance, to what purpose, in the present case, so many precedents have been produced to prove, that the House of Commons have a right to expel one of their own members; that it belongs to them to judge of the validity of elections; or that the law of parliament is part of the law of the land*? After all these propositions are admitted, Mr. Luttrell's right to his seat will continue to be just as disputable as it was before. Not one of them is at present in agitation. Let it be admitted that the House of Commons were authorized to expel Mr. Wilkes; that they are the proper court to judge of elections, and that the law of parliament is binding upon the people; still it remains to be enquired whether the House, by their resolution in favour of Mr. Luttrell, have or have not truly declared that law. To facilitate this enquiry, I would have the question cleared of all foreign or indifferent matter. The following state of it will probably be thought a fair one by both parties; and then I imagine there is no gentleman in this country, who will not be capable of forming a judicious and true opinion upon it. I take the question to be strictly this: "Whether or no it be the known, esta-

* The reader will observe that these admissions are made, not as of truths unquestionable, but for the sake of argument and in order to bring the real question to issue.

blished law of parliament, that the expulsion of a member of the House of Commons, of itself creates in him such an incapacity to be re-elected, that, at a subsequent election, any votes given to him are null and void, and that any other candidate, who, except the person expelled, has the greatest number of votes, ought to be the sitting member."

To prove that the affirmative is the law of parliament, I apprehend it is not sufficient for the present House of Commons to declare it to be so. We may shut our eyes indeed to the dangerous consequences of suffering one branch of the legislature to declare new laws, without argument or example, and it may perhaps be prudent enough to submit to authority; but a mere assertion will never convince, much less will it be thought reasonable to prove the right by the fact itself. The ministry have not yet pretended to such a tyranny over our minds. To support the affirmative fairly, it will either be necessary to produce some statute, in which that positive provision shall have been made, that specific disability clearly created, and the consequences of it declared; or, if there be no such statute, the custom of parliament must then be referred to, and some case or cases*, strictly in

* Precedents, in opposition to principles, have little weight with JUNIUS; but he thought it necessary to meet the ministry, upon their own ground.

point, must be produced, with the decision of the court upon them; for I readily admit that the custom of parliament, once clearly proved, is equally binding with the common and statute law.

The consideration of what may be reasonable or unreasonable makes no part of this question. We are enquiring what the law is, not what it ought to be. Reason may be applied to shew the impropriety or expedience of a law, but we must have either statute or precedent to prove the existence of it. At the same time I do not mean to admit that the late resolution of the House of Commons is defensible on general principles of reason, any more than in law. This is not the hinge on which the debate turns.

Supposing, therefore, that I have laid down an accurate state of the question, I will venture to affirm, 1st, That there is no statute existing, by which that specific disability, which we speak of, is created. If there be, let it be produced. The argument will then be at an end.

2dly, That there is no precedent in all the proceedings of the House of Commons which comes entirely home to the present case, viz. "where an expelled member has been returned again, and another candidate, with an inferior number of votes, has been declared the sitting member." If there be such a precedent, let it be given to us plainly, and I am sure it will have more weight

than all the cunning arguments which have been drawn from inferences and probabilities.

The ministry, in that laborious pamphlet, which, I presume, contains the whole strength of the party, have declared *, “ That Mr. Walpole’s† was the first and only instance, in which the electors of any county or borough had returned a person expelled to serve in the same parliament.” It is not possible to conceive a case more exactly in point. Mr. Walpole was expelled, and having

* *Case of the Middlesex election considered*, page 38.

† This fact occurred while Mr. Walpole was in an inferior capacity to that in which he afterwards appeared so conspicuously as prime minister of George I. and George II. At the period in question, the Tories having obtained a majority in parliament, expelled him for the crime of having accepted profits upon a military contract, while secretary at war, and at the same time possessed influence enough to have him committed to the Tower. He was member for Lynn Regis, the burgesses of which borough were warmly attached to him. It was for this borough he had been returned at an early period of his life, by which he was enabled, while a young politician, to head the Whig party against St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, who took a leading part in the Tory administration of Harley.

From the disgrace into which he was hereby for a long time plunged, he was at length relieved by the failure of the minister’s favourite expedient of the South Sea incorporation, and the extreme unpopularity in which he was consequently involved. Walpole now triumphed upon the ruin of his rival; became prime minister, retained the post through the whole of the existing and part of the next reign, and for his services was created Earl of Orford. EDIT.

a majority of votes at the next election, was returned again. The friends of Mr. Taylor, a candidate set up by the ministry, petitioned the House that he might be the sitting member *. Thus far the circumstances tally exactly, except that our House of Commons saved Mr. Luttrell the trouble of petitioning. The point of law however was the same. It came regularly before the House, and it was their business to determine upon it. They did determine it, for they de-

* The following are the particulars of this case as extracted from the journals of the House of Commons :

“ On the 23 of February 1711, a petition of the freemen and free-burghers of the borough of King’s Lynn, in the county of Norfolk, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that Monday the eleventh of February last, being appointed for chusing a member to serve in parliament for this borough, in the room of Robert Walpole. Esq. expelled this House, Samuel Taylor Esq. *was elected their burghess*; but John Bagg, present mayor of the said borough, *refused to return the said Samuel Taylor, though required so to do*; and returned the said Robert Walpole, though expelled this House, and then a prisoner in the Tower, and praying the consideration of the House.

“ March 6th. The order of the day being read of taking into consideration the merits of the petition of the freemen and free-burghers of the borough of King’s Lynn in the county of Norfolk, and a motion being made that council be called in, upon a division, it was resolved in the negative: Tellers for the yeas Sir Charles Turner, Mr. Pulteney, 127. Tellers for the noes, Sir Simeon Stuart, Mr. Foster, 212.—a motion being made, and the question put, that Robert Walpole Esq. having been, this session of parliament committed a prisoner to the Tower
of

clared Mr. Taylor *not duly elected*. If it be said that they meant this resolution as matter of favour and indulgence to the borough, which had retorted Mr. Walpole upon them, in order that the burgesses, knowing what the law was, might correct their error. I answer,

I. That it is a strange way of arguing, to oppose a supposition, which no man can prove, to a fact which proves itself.

II. That if this were the intention of the House of Commons, it must have defeated itself. The burgesses of Lynn could never have known their error, much less could they have corrected it, by any instruction they received from the proceedings of the House of Commons. They might perhaps have foreseen, that, if they returned Mr. Walpole again, he would again be rejected; but they never could infer, from a resolution by which the candidate with the fewest votes was

of London, and expelled this House for an high breach of trust in the execution of his office, and notorious corruption, when secretary at war, was, and is, incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament, it was resolved, upon a division, in the affirmative. Then a motion being made, and the question put, that Samuel Taylor Esq. is duly elected a burgess to serve in the present parliament for the borough of King's Lynn in the county of Norfolk, it passed in the negative. Resolved, that the late election of a burgess to serve in the present parliament for the said borough of King's Lynn, in the county of Norfolk, is a void election." EDIT.

declared *not duly elected*, that, at a future election, and in similar circumstances, the House of Commons would reverse their resolution, and receive the same candidate as duly elected, whom they had before rejected.

This indeed would have been a most extraordinary way of declaring the law of parliament, and what I presume no man, whose understanding is not at cross-purposes with itself, could possibly understand.

If, in a case of this importance, I thought myself at liberty to argue from suppositions rather than from facts, I think the probability, in this instance, is directly the reverse of what the ministry affirm; and that it is much more likely that the House of Commons at that time would rather have strained a point in favour of Mr. Taylor, than that they would have violated the law of parliament, and robbed Mr. Taylor of a right legally vested in him, to gratify a refractory borough, which, in defiance of them, had returned a person branded with the strongest mark of the displeasure of the House.

But really, Sir, this way of talking, for I cannot call it argument, is a mockery of the common understanding of the nation, too gross to be endured. Our dearest interests are at stake. An attempt has been made, not merely to rob a single county of its rights, but, by inevitable

consequence, to alter the constitution of the House of Commons. This fatal attempt has succeeded, and stands as a precedent, recorded for ever*. If the ministry are unable to defend their cause by fair argument, founded on facts, let them spare us at least the mortification of being amused and deluded like children. I believe there is yet a spirit of resistance in this country, which will not submit to be oppressed; but I am sure there is a fund of good sense in this country, which cannot be deceived.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XVII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

1 *August*, 1769.

It will not be necessary for JUNIUS to take the trouble of answering your correspondent G. A. or the quotation from a speech without doors, published in your paper of the 28th of last month†. The speech appeared before Ju-

* See the Editor's note to Letter XLVI. in which the reader will find a particular account of the steps taken by Mr. Wilkes to procure the erasure of these proceedings from the journals of the House of Commons. EDIT.

† It seems but fair that the reader should be put into possession of both the papers which it is the object of the present letter to oppose; but more especially the latter, which was
written

NIUS's letter, and as the author seems to consider the great proposition, on which all his argument depends, viz. *that Mr. Wilkes was under that known legal incapacity, of which JUNIUS speaks*, as a point granted, his speech is, in no shape, an

written by Dr. Blackstone, and a passage from another part of which JUNIUS, in p. 230 of this volume, contrasts with one from the Commentaries. The Editor has therefore extracted them from the journal referred to.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

I HAVE perused, with all due attention, the letter of JUNIUS, inserted in your paper of the 19th inst. I perfectly agree with him, that a great deal of useless argument might have been saved in the political contest which has arisen upon the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, and the subsequent appointment of Mr. Luttrell, if the question had been once stated with precision to the satisfaction of each party. Yet after all the ingenious pains JUNIUS has taken, I much doubt whether the question, as he has thought fit to state it, will at all satisfy more than one party. The question, as he has given it, is "Whether or no it be the known established law of parliament, that the expulsion of a member of the House of Commons, of itself creates in him such an incapacity of being re-elected, that at a subsequent election, any votes given to him are null and void, and that any other candidate who, except the person expelled, has the greatest number of votes, ought to be the sitting member?" JUNIUS having thus formed his question, entertains the reader with a few spirited flourishes, not perhaps directly *ad rem*; and then asserts, what probably the party he opposes will not deny, viz. "That to support the affirmative fairly, it will either be necessary to produce some statute, in which that positive provision shall have been made, that specific disability

answer to JUNIUS, for this is the very question in debate.

As to G. A. I observe first, that if he did not admit of JUNIUS's state of the question, he should have shewn the fallacy of it, or given us a

ability clearly created, and the consequences of it declared; or if there be no such statute, the custom of parliament must then be referred to, and some case, or cases, strictly in point, must be produced, with the decision of the court upon them." Suppose, for argument's sake, that no such statute, no such custom of parliament, no such case in point can be produced: does it therefore follow that the determination of the House of Commons, in regard to Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Luttrell, was wrong? Have not the members of the present House as good a right to establish a precedent, as the members of any antecedent house ever had? JUNIUS admits a right in the House to expel. But was there not a time prior to all expulsion? and was the first expulsion therefore wrong? Was there not a time prior to every other precedent in the Journals of the House? But was every such, or any such precedent therefore wrong? Are things wrong merely because they were never done before? Or do wrong things become right by mere dint of repetition? Should JUNIUS think fit to answer these questions, I may be induced perhaps to enlarge upon the subject.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

July 26.

G. A.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

July 28, 1769.

In answer to the arguments and observations of your correspondent JUNIUS (relating to the vote of the 9th of May, in favour of Colonel Luttrell) I send you the following extract,
from

more exact one;—secondly, that, considering the many hours and days, which the ministry and their advocates have wasted, in public debate, in compiling large quartos, and collecting innumerable precedents, expressly to prove that

from a pamphlet just published, which please to insert as soon as you can, and thereby oblige,

AN OLD CORRESPONDENT.

A speech without doors upon the subject of a vote given on the 9th day of May, 1769.

“YOUR question I will answer, having first premised, that if you are satisfied we did right in setting aside Mr. Wilkes’s election, I cannot believe it will be a very difficult task to convince you that the admitting of Mr. Luttrell was the unavoidable consequence. ‘No: (say you) for surely you might have declared it a void election. Why go greater lengths than in former times, even the most heated and violent, it was ever thought proper to go?’ Or upon what ground, either of reason or authority, can you justify the vote you gave, that Mr. Luttrell, who certainly had not the majority, was duly elected?’ The question you have a right to put to me, and I mean to give it a direct answer.

“Now the principle upon which I voted was this, that in all cases of election by a majority of votes, wherever the candidate for whom the most votes are given, appears to have been, at the time of the election, under a *known legal incapacity*, the person who had the next greatest number of votes ought to be considered as the person duly elected. And this, as a general principle, I take to be altogether uncontrovertible. We may differ in our ways of expressing the principle, or of explaining the grounds of it: some chusing to state it, that the electors, voting for such incapable person, do, for that time, forfeit their

the late proceedings of the House of Commons are warranted by the law, custom, and practice of parliament, it is rather an extraordinary supposition, to be made by one of their own party, even for the sake of argument, *that no such sta-*

their right of voting; others, that their votes are thrown away; and others, that votes for a person not legally capable, are not legal votes. But in whatever way we assign the ground of the rule, the result and conclusion is still the same, that, in every such case, the election of the capable person by the inferior number of votes, is a good and valid election.

“Nor is this rule, founded as it is in sound sense and public necessity, to be put out of countenance by a little ingenious sophistry, playing upon the ambiguity of certain undefined terms, taunting us with the reproach of elections by a minority, of inverting the rules of arithmetic, and the like. Not even the sacredness of the rights of the electors can stand against its authority; for sacred as those rights ought ever to be held, the exercise of them, as well as of all the other rights of individuals, must ever be confined within such bounds, and governed by such rules, as are consistent with the attainment of the great public ends for which they were established. But could any thing be more preposterous than if, while you are securing to individuals the right they have to take part in determining who shall be appointed to discharge the several public offices and trusts, no care should be taken that the public, in all events, may be secure of having any persons appointed at all? Yet to this inconvenience, the public must be perpetually exposed, if the rule were to be strictly and invariably followed, that nothing but a majority of the electors could ever make a good election. That a majority of the whole number intitled to have voice in the election, is not necessary, will be readily admitted; for at that rate, the absence of one half of the electors might defeat

tute, no such custom of parliament, no such case in point can be produced. G. A. may however make the supposition with safety. It contains nothing, but literally the fact, except that there is a case exactly in point, with a decision of the

defeat the possibility of any election at all. Neither is it necessary, in order to a candidate's being duly elected, that he should have the votes of more than one half of the electors present; since, if it were, diversity of inclinations among the electors, and the putting up of three candidates, might as completely frustrate all possibility of supplying the vacancy, as the absence of one half of the electors would in the former case. Accordingly, therefore, we constantly see, that wherever there are more than two candidates for one vacancy, the election is determined, not so properly by a majority, as by a plurality of voices; and the candidate, who has more voices than any one of his competitors, although fewer than one half of the electors present, is always determined to be well and duly elected; there being indeed no other method allowed by the constitution, of voting against one candidate, but by voting for another; nor any liberty of declaring whom I would prefer in the second place, in case my first vote should prove ineffectual; either of which allowances might prevent any election being made.

“ Thus far then we are guarded against the public service being disappointed, either by the remissness of the electors in absenting themselves from the election, or by such a diversity of opinions among the electors present, as though innocent in itself, would yet be of fatal consequence to the public, should it be suffered to operate so far as to prevent any effectual election from taking place. But much in vain have these rules been established, if it is still to be in the power of the same number of electors, by a little management, to effect the same
purpose,

House, diametrically opposite to that which the present House of Commons came to in favour of Mr. Luttrell.

The ministry now begin to be ashamed of the weakness of their cause, and, as it usually happens with falsehood, are driven to the neces-

purpose, and put an effectual bar to all possibility of a valid election. Had they, by staying away, declared that they would take no part in supplying the vacancy, their fellow electors, who chose to exercise their franchise, and upon whom, in that case, the complete right would have devolved, might have exercised their right accordingly, and the public service would have been provided for. But shall they be allowed to come, and by declaring that they will vote against one candidate, but for no other, or by voting for a person whom they know to be incapable of holding the office, as truly, to all intents and purposes, deprive their fellows of their right, and the public of its due, as if, instead of coming, they had only sent a prohibition of proceeding to any election till it should be their good pleasure to suffer one? Against such a mockery of the public authority common sense reclaims, and has therefore provided against this abuse, by pointing out this farther qualification of the rule by which elections are to be decided. That, as the electors who give no vote at all, have no power of excluding any candidate for whom other electors do vote, so those who give their votes for a person whom they know to be by law incapable, are to be considered exactly on the same footing as if they gave no votes at all? Not to give any vote, to declare I vote for nobody, or to vote for the Great Mogul, must undoubtedly have the same effect.

“Thus then it appeared to me, that the general rule, that in case of a *known legal incapacity* in the person having the majority of voices, the capable person next upon the poll, although
chosen

sity of shifting their ground, and changing their whole defence. At first we were told that nothing could be clearer than that the proceedings of the House of Commons were justified by the known law and uniform custom of parliament. But now it seems, if there be no law, the House of Commons have a right to make one, and if there be no precedent, they have a right to create the first;—for this, I presume, is the

chosen by a minority, is duly elected, is consonant to reason, is the dictate of common sense.

“That it had also the sanction of authority, I was as clearly convinced. The practice of the courts of law, in such cases, seems not to be disputed; they have, by repeated decisions, established the principle.

“Upon these grounds, therefore, both of reason and authority, I not only thought myself fully justified in giving my vote, that Mr. Luttrell was duly elected, but in truth I could not think myself at liberty to vote otherwise, being convinced, that as, on the one hand, by so voting I should do no wrong to the 1143 freeholders of Middlesex, who, for the chance of being able to overbear the authority of the House of Commons, which had adjudged Mr. Wilkes to be incapable, had chosen to forego their right of taking part in the nomination of a capable person in his room; so, by a contrary decision, I should have done a most manifest injustice to Mr. Luttrell, and to the 296 freeholders who voted for him; and who, in failure of a nomination by an equal number of freeholders of any other capable candidate, had, upon every principle of reason, and every rule of law, as well as according to the uniform usage of parliament, conferred upon him a clear title to sit as one of the representatives for the county of Middlesex.” EDIT.

amount of the questions proposed to JUNIUS. If your correspondent had been at all versed in the law of parliament, or generally in the laws of this country, he would have seen that this defence is as weak and false as the former.

The privileges of either House of Parliament, it is true, are indefinite, that is, they have not been described or laid down in any one code or declaration whatsoever; but whenever a question of privilege has arisen, it has invariably been disputed or maintained upon the footing of precedents alone*. In the course of the proceedings upon the Aylesbury election, the House of Lords resolved, “That neither House of Parliament had any power, by any vote or declaration, to create to themselves any new privilege that was not warranted by the known laws and customs of parliament.” And to this rule the House of Commons, though otherwise they had acted in a very arbitrary manner, gave their assent, for they affirmed that they had guided themselves by it, in asserting their privileges.—Now, Sir, if this be true with respect to matters of privilege, in which the House of Commons, individually and as a body, are principally concerned, how much more strongly will it hold against any

* This is still meeting the ministry upon their own ground; for, in truth, no precedents will support either natural injustice, or violation of positive right.

pretended power in that House, to create or declare a new law, by which not only the rights of the House over their own member, and those of the member himself are concluded, but also those of a third and separate party, I mean the freeholders of the kingdom. To do justice to the ministry, they have not yet pretended that any one or any two of the three estates have power to make a new law, without the concurrence of the third. They know that a man who maintains such a doctrine, is liable, by statute, to the heaviest penalties. They do not acknowledge that the House of Commons have assumed a *new* privilege, or declared a *new* law.—On the contrary, they affirm that their proceedings have been strictly conformable to and founded upon the ancient law and custom of parliament. Thus therefore the question returns to the point, at which JUNIUS had fixed it, viz. *Whether or no this be the law of parliament*. If it be not, the House of Commons had no legal authority to establish the precedent; and the precedent itself is a mere fact, without any proof of right whatsoever.

Your correspondent concludes with a question of the simplest nature: *Must a thing be wrong, because it has never been done before?* No. But admitting it were proper to be done, that alone does not convey an authority to do it.

As to the present case, I hope I shall never see the time, when not only a single person, but a whole county, and in effect the entire collective body of the people may again be robbed of their birthright by a vote of the House of Commons. But if, for reasons which I am unable to comprehend, it be necessary to trust that House with a power so exorbitant and so unconstitutional, at least let it be given to them by an act of the legislature.

PHILO JUNIUS.

LETTER XVIII.

TO DR. WILLIAM BLACKSTONE, SOLICITOR GENERAL
TO HER MAJESTY.

SIR,

29 July, 1769.

I SHALL make you no apology for considering a certain pamphlet, in which your late conduct is defended, as written by yourself*. The personal interest, the personal re-

* This was at last admitted by the friends of the Solicitor General. The pamphlet was entitled, "An answer to the question stated;" and was a reply to a pamphlet from Sir William Meredith, one of the most active members of parliament of the Whig party, entitled, "The question stated," in reference to the adjudication of Wilkes's incapacity to sit in parliament after his last election; in the course of which also, the inconsistency of opinion between that delivered by the
Solicitor

sentments, and above all, that wounded spirit, unaccustomed to reproach, and I hope not frequently conscious of deserving it, are signals which betray the author to us as plainly as if your name were in the title-page. You appeal to the public in defence of your reputation. We hold it, Sir, that an injury offered to an individual is interesting to society. On this principle the people of England made common cause with Mr. Wilkes. On this principle, if *you* are injured, they will join in your resentment. I shall not follow you through the insipid form of a third person, but address myself to you directly.

You seem to think the channel of a pamphlet more respectable and better suited to the dignity of your cause, than that of a news-

Solicitor General in his Commentaries, and that on the point in question was severely animadverted upon.

The press was overwhelmed with tracts on this dispute from both sides. Of these, the chief, independently of Sir William Meredith's, and the reply to it by Sir William Blackstone, were "The case of the last election for the county of Middlesex considered," attributed to Mr. Dyson, who was nicknamed, by his opponents, Mungo: "Serious Considerations;" "Mungo on the use of Quotations;" "Mungo's case considered;" "Letter to JUNIUS;" "Postscript to JUNIUS," published in a subsequent edition to Sir William Blackstone's reply, and "The False Alarm," written by Doctor Johnson. Of all these some incidental notice is taken in the course of the volumes before us. EDIT.

paper. Be it so. Yet if news-papers are scurrilous, you must confess they are impartial. They give us, without any apparent preference, the wit and argument of the ministry, as well as the abusive dulness of the opposition. The scales are equally poised. It is not the printer's fault if the greater weight inclines the balance.

Your pamphlet then is divided into an attack upon Mr. Grenville's character, and a defence of your own. It would have been more consistent perhaps with your professed intentions, to have confined yourself to the last. But anger has some claim to indulgence, and railing is usually a relief to the mind. I hope you have found benefit from the experiment. It is not my design to enter into a formal vindication of Mr. Grenville, upon his own principles. I have neither the honour of being personally known to him*, nor do I pretend to be completely master of all the facts. I need not run the risk of doing an injustice to his opinions, or to his conduct, when your pamphlet alone

* This, as already observed in the Preliminary Essay, is a truly singular assertion when taken in connection with the fact, that Mr. Grenville, of all the political characters of the day, appears to have been our author's favourite. He voluntarily omits every opportunity of censuring him, and readily embraces every occasion of defending and extolling his conduct and principles. EDIT.

carries, upon the face of it, a full vindication of both.

Your first reflection is, that Mr. Grenville* was, of all men, the person, who should not have complained of inconsistency with regard to Mr. Wilkes†. This, Sir, is either an unmeaning sneer, a peevish expression of resentment, or, if it means any thing, you plainly beg the question; for whether his parliamentary conduct with regard to Mr. Wilkes has or has not been inconsistent, remains yet to be proved. But it seems he received upon the spot a sufficient chastisement for exercising *so unfairly*‡ his

* Mr. Grenville had quoted a passage from the Doctor's excellent commentaries, which directly contradicted the doctrine maintained by the Doctor in the House of Commons.

† It has been already observed that the opposition to Wilkes commenced with Mr. George Grenville, who advised the issue of the General Warrant. It is observed also in the same note, that Grenville afterwards deserted the ministry, and attached himself strenuously to the Whig party. See note in Vol. I. p. 167. Upon this apparent inconsistency JUNIUS shrewdly remarks, that whatever propriety or impropriety there might have been in Mr. Grenville's opposing Wilkes *personally*—the present question has nothing to do with it—as he now supports him not on account of his personal character, but as the instrument of *the people* at large, whose rights and privileges the ministry have grossly violated by their conduct towards him. EDIT.

‡ An inaccurate expression in the pamphlet alluded to. The chastisement that ensued is related in Vol. I. p. 203.

Blackstone

talent of misrepresentation. You are a lawyer, Sir, and know better than I do, upon what particular occasions a talent for misrepresentation may be *fairly* exerted; but to punish a man a second time, when he has been once sufficiently chastised, is rather too severe. It is not in the laws of England; it is not in your own commentaries, nor is it yet, I believe, in the new law you have revealed to the House of Commons. I hope this doctrine has no existence but in your own heart. After all, Sir, if you had consulted that sober discretion, which you seem to oppose with triumph to the honest jollity of a tavern, it might have occurred to you that, although you could have succeeded in fixing a charge of inconsistency upon Mr. Grenville, it would not have tended in any shape to exculpate yourself.

Your next insinuation, that Sir William Meredith had hastily adopted the false glosses of his new ally, is of the same sort with the first. It conveys a sneer as little worthy of the gravity of your character, as it is useless to your defence. It is of little moment to the public to enquire, by whom the charge was conceived,

Blackstone was thunderstruck at the contradiction pointed out by Grenville, and was incapable of uttering a word in his defence:—a pause ensued, and Mr. Grenville insultingly shook his head: for the rest see the page as above referred to. EDIT.

or by whom it was adopted. The only question we ask is, whether or no it be true. The remainder of your reflections upon Mr. Grenville's conduct destroy themselves. He could not possibly come prepared to traduce your integrity to the House. He could not foresee that you would even speak upon the question, much less could he foresee that you would maintain a direct contradiction of that doctrine, which you had solemnly, disinterestedly, and upon soberest reflection delivered to the public. He came armed indeed with what he thought a respectable authority, to support what he was convinced was the cause of truth, and I doubt not he intended to give you, in the course of the debate, an honourable and public testimony of his esteem. Thinking highly of his abilities, I cannot however allow him the gift of divination. As to what you are pleased to call a plan coolly formed to impose upon the House of Commons, and his producing it without provocation at midnight, I consider it as the language of pique and invective, therefore unworthy of regard. But, Sir, I am sensible I have followed your example too long, and wandered from the point.

The quotation from your commentaries is matter of record. It can neither be *altered* by your friends, nor misrepresented by your

enemies; and I am willing to take your own word for what you have said in the House of Commons. If there be a real difference between what you have written and what you have spoken, you confess that your book ought to be the standard. Now, Sir, if words mean any thing, I apprehend that, when a long enumeration of disqualifications (whether by statute or the custom of parliament) concludes with these general comprehensive words, "but subject to these restrictions and disqualifications, *every* subject of the realm is eligible of common right," a reader of plain understanding, must of course rest satisfied that no species of disqualification whatsoever had been omitted. The known character of the author, and the apparent accuracy with which the whole work is compiled, would confirm him in his opinion; nor could he possibly form any other judgment, without looking upon your commentaries in the same light in which you consider those penal laws, which though not repealed, are fallen into disuse, and are now in effect A SNARE TO THE UNWARY*.

* If, in stating the law upon any point, a judge deliberately affirms that he has included *every* case, and it should appear that he has purposely omitted a material case, he does in effect lay *a snare for the unwary*. AUTHOR.

This last part of the sentence is a quotation artfully selected from Blackstone's own works, and turned against himself. EDIT.

You tell us indeed that it was not part of your plan to specify any temporary incapacity, and that you could not, without a spirit of prophecy, have specified the disability of a private individual, subsequent to the period at which you wrote. What your plan was I know not; but what it should have been, in order to complete the work you have given us, is by no means difficult to determine. The incapacity, which you call temporary, may continue seven years; and though you might not have foreseen the particular case of Mr. Wilkes, you might and should have foreseen the possibility of *such* a case, and told us how far the House of Commons were authorized to proceed in it by the law and custom of parliament. The freeholders of Middlesex would then have known what they had to trust to, and would never have returned Mr. Wilkes, when colonel Luttrell was a candidate against him. They would have chosen some indifferent person, rather than submit to be represented by the object of their contempt and detestation.

Your attempt to distinguish between disabilities, which affect whole classes of men, and those which affect individuals only, is really unworthy of your understanding. Your commentaries had taught me that, although the instance, in which a penal law is exerted, be

particular, the laws themselves are general. They are made for the benefit and instruction of the public, though the penalty falls only upon an individual. You cannot but know, Sir, that what was Mr. Wilkes's case yesterday may be yours or mine to-morrow, and that consequently the common right of every subject of the realm is invaded by it. Professing therefore to treat of the constitution of the House of Commons, and of the laws and customs relative to that constitution, you certainly were guilty of a most unpardonable omission in taking no notice of a right and privilege of the House, more extraordinary and more arbitrary than all the others they possess put together. If the expulsion of a member, not under any other legal disability, of itself creates in him an incapacity to be re-elected, I see a ready way marked out, by which the majority may at any time remove the honestest and ablest men who happen to be in opposition to them. To say that they *will not* make this extravagant use of their power, would be a language unfit for a man so learned in the laws as you are. By your doctrine, Sir, they *have* the power, and laws you know are intended to guard against what men *may* do, not to trust to what they *will* do.

Upon the whole, Sir, the charge against you is of a plain, simple nature: It appears even

upon the face of your own pamphlet. On the contrary, your justification of yourself is full of subtlety and refinement, and in some places not very intelligible. If I were personally your enemy, I should dwell, with a malignant pleasure, upon those great and useful qualifications, which you certainly possess, and by which you once acquired, though they could not preserve to you the respect and esteem of your country. I should enumerate the honours you have lost, and the virtues you have disgraced: but having no private resentments to gratify, I think it sufficient to have given my opinion of your public conduct, leaving the punishment it deserves to your closet and to yourself.

JUNIUS.



LETTER XIX.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

14 August, 1769.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *St. James's Chronicle* first wilfully misunderstands JUNIUS, then censures him for a bad reasoner*. JUNIUS

* The following is a copy of the letter alluded to:—

For the St. James's Chronicle.

* TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

ONCE more Mr. JUNIUS, and but once, let me address a few words to you on the subject of your *Antiblackstonian*

does not say that it was incumbent upon Doctor Blackstone to foresee and state the crimes, for which Mr. Wilkes was expelled. If, by a spirit of prophecy, he had even done so, it would have been nothing to the purpose. The question is, not for what particular offences a person may

stonian letter, reminding you at the same time, that I am no formal defender of the celebrated commentator (who wants no such defence), but that it is my sole purpose to shew that you are not a competent reader of his works, or that you have wilfully and malevolently perverted them.

You tell Mr. Blackstone that "his attempt to distinguish between disabilities that affect whole classes of men, and those which affect individuals only, is really unworthy his understanding." And yet, Sir, that is no new distinction; it is not framed and invented by Mr. Blackstone. Private or personal laws, whether inflicting penalties and disabilities, or conferring privileges and immunities, on the particular object of them, and distinguished from the general and permanent course of law, have been known under all states, and under every legislation, both ancient and modern. They are enacted *pro re nata*, and lose all their force as soon as they have operated upon the individuals marked out by them. But, "you have been taught, you say, (yet surely not from the commentaries) that, although the instance in which a penal law is exerted, be particular, the laws themselves (I must suppose you to speak of the laws now under debate) are general." But, before you could write thus, what dæmon of confusion must have seized your noddle! Were the votes of the House, by which Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Ward, and many others, have been expelled, and the act of parliament which inflicted a perpetual exclusion on the S. S. Directors, general laws? Was the vote to expel Mr. Wilkes in the last parliament, a general law? So far from it, that

be expelled, but generally whether by the law of parliament expulsion alone creates a disqualification. If the affirmative be the law of parliament, Doctor Blackstone might and should have told us so. The question is not confined to this or that particular person, but forms one great general branch of disqualification, too important in itself, and too extensive in its conse-

that its force was quite evaporated, and it could not operate even upon him, in the present. Another vote of expulsion was necessary ; and the two votes put together could no more expel Mr. Townshend and Mr. Sawbridge from the House of Commons, than the decree of the Roman senate, on Catiline and the rest of the conspirators, could send *our* hero and his whole gang to Tyburn.

Acts of attainder come under the same description of personal, temporary and particular laws ; and that I may help you the better to understand this whole matter, and shew you, at the same time, the accuracy and consistency of Mr. Blackstone, I shall give you his account of them : (Comm. b. iv. p. 256.) “ As for acts of parliament to attain particular persons of treason and felony, or to inflict pains and penalties, beyond or contrary to the common law, to serve a special purpose, *I speak not of them* ; (mark that, JUNIUS,) being to all intents and purposes, new laws, made *pro re nata*, and by no means an execution of those already in being.” I shall now take my leave of you, having, I hope, sufficiently proved to Mr. Baldwin’s Readers, in the instance you have afforded me, how prettily sometimes a man may write, without being able to read.

✻

PUBLIUS.

Middle Temple, August 6, 1769.

EDIT.

quences, to be omitted in an accurate work expressly treating of the law of parliament.

The truth of the matter is evidently this. Doctor Blackstone, while he was speaking in the House of Commons, never once thought of his Commentaries, until the contradiction was unexpectedly urged, and stared him in the face. Instead of defending himself upon the spot, he sunk under the charge, in an agony of confusion and despair. It is well known that there was a pause of some minutes in the House, from a general expectation that the Doctor would say something in his own defence; but it seems, his faculties were too much overpowered to think of those subtleties and refinements, which have since occurred to him. It was then Mr. Grenville received that severe chastisement, which the Doctor mentions with so much triumph. *I wish the honourable gentleman, instead of shaking his head, would shake a good argument out of it.* If to the elegance, novelty, and bitterness of this ingenious sarcasm, we add the natural melody of the amiable Sir Fletcher Norton's pipe, we shall not be surprised that Mr. Grenville was unable to make him any reply.

As to the Doctor, I would recommend it to him to be quiet. If not, he may perhaps hear again from JUNIUS himself.

PHILO JUNIUS.

Postscript* to a Pamphlet intituled, ‘ An Answer to the Question stated.’ Supposed to be written by Dr. Blackstone, Solicitor to the Queen, in answer to JUNIUS’s Letter.

SINCE these papers were sent to the press, a writer in the public papers, who subscribes himself JUNIUS, has made a feint of bringing this question to a short issue. Though the foregoing observations contain in my opinion, at least, a full refutation of all that this writer has offered, I shall, however, bestow a very few words upon him. It will cost me very little trouble to unravel and expose the sophistry of his argument.

‘ I take the question,’ says he, ‘ to be strictly this: Whether or no it be the known established law of parliament, that the expulsion of a member of the House of Commons of itself creates in him such an incapacity to be re-elected, that, at a subsequent election, any votes given to him are null and void; and that any other candidate, who, except the person expelled, has the greatest number of votes, ought to be the sitting member.’

* This is the Postscript, added in a subsequent edition, to Sir William Blackstone’s reply to Sir William Meredith’s pamphlet, as noticed in note to page 191 of the present volume. EDIT.

Waving for the present any objection I may have to this state of the question, I shall venture to meet our champion upon his own ground; and attempt to support the affirmative of it, in one of the two ways, by which he says it can be alone fairly supported. ‘ If there be no statute,’ says he, ‘ in which the specific disability is clearly created, &c. (and we acknowledge there is none) the custom of parliament must then be referred to, and some case or cases, strictly in point, must be produced, with the decision of the court upon them.’ Now I assert, that this has been done. Mr. Walpole’s case is strictly in point, to prove that expulsion creates absolute incapacity of being re-elected. This was the clear decision of the House upon it; and was a full declaration, that incapacity was the necessary consequence of expulsion. The law was as clearly and firmly fixed by this resolution, and is as binding in every subsequent case of expulsion, as if it had been declared by an express statute, “ That a member expelled by a resolution of the House of Commons shall be deemed incapable of being re-elected.” Whatever doubt then there might have been of the law before Mr. Walpole’s case, with respect to the full operation of a vote of expulsion, there can be none now. The decision of the House upon this case is strictly in point to prove, that ex-

pulsion creates absolute incapacity in law of being re-elected.

But incapacity in law in this instance must have the same operation and effect with incapacity in law in every other instance. Now, incapacity of being re-elected implies in its very terms, that any votes given to the incapable person, at a subsequent election, are null and void. This is its necessary operation, or it has no operation at all. It is *vox et præterea nihil*. We can no more be called upon to prove this proposition, than we can to prove that a dead man is not alive, or that twice two are four. When the terms are understood, the proposition is self-evident.

Lastly, It is in all cases of election, the known and established law of the land, grounded upon the clearest principles of reason and common sense, that if the votes given to one candidate are null and void, they cannot be opposed to the votes given to another candidate. They cannot affect the votes of such candidate at all. As they have, on the one hand, no positive quality to add or establish, so have they, on the other hand, no negative one to subtract or destroy. They are, in a word, a mere nonentity. Such was the determination of the House of Commons in the Malden and Bedford elections; cases strictly in point to the

present question, as far as they are meant to be in point. And to say, that they are not in point, in all circumstances, in those particularly which are independent of the proposition which they are quoted to prove, is to say no more than that Malden is not Middlesex, nor Serjeant Comyns Mr. Wilkes.

Let us see then how our proof stands. Expulsion creates incapacity; incapacity annihilates any votes given to the incapable person. The votes given to the qualified candidate stand upon their own bottom, firm and untouched, and can alone have effect. This, one would think, would be sufficient. But we are stopped short, and told, that none of our precedents come home to the present case; and are challenged to produce “a precedent in all the proceedings of the House of Commons that does come home to it, viz. *where an expelled member has been returned again, and another candidate, with an inferior number of votes, has been declared the sitting member.*”

Instead of a precedent, I will beg leave to put a case; which, I fancy, will be quite as decisive to the present point. Suppose another Sacheverel, (and every party must have its Sacheverel) should, at some future election, take it into his head to offer himself a candidate for the county of Middlesex. He is opposed

by a candidate, whose coat is of a different colour; but however of a very good colour. The divine has an indisputable majority; nay, the poor layman is absolutely distanced. The sheriff, after having had his conscience well informed by the reverend casuist, returns him, as he supposes, duly elected. The whole House is in an uproar, at the apprehension of so strange an appearance amongst them. A motion however is at length made, that the person was incapable of being elected, that his election therefore is null and void, and that his competitor ought to have been returned. No, says a great orator, First shew me your law for this proceeding. “ Either produce me a statute, in which the specific disability of a clergyman is created; or produce me a precedent *where a clergyman has been returned, and another candidate, with an inferior number of votes, has been declared the sitting member.*” No such statute, no such precedent is to be found. What answer then is to be given to this demand? The very same answer which I will give to that of JUNIUS: That there is more than one precedent in the proceedings of the House——“ where an incapable person has been returned, and another candidate, with an inferior number of votes, has been declared the sitting member; and that this is the known and established law, in all

cases of incapacity, from whatever cause it may arise."

I shall now therefore beg leave to make a slight amendment to JUNIUS's state of the question, the affirmative of which will then stand thus :

" It is the known and established law of parliament, that the expulsion of any member of the House of Commons creates in him an incapacity of being re-elected ; that any votes given to him at a subsequent election are, in consequence of such incapacity, null and void ; and that any other candidate, who, except the person rendered incapable, has the greatest number of votes, ought to be the sitting member."

But our business is not yet quite finished. Mr. Walpole's case must have a re-hearing. " It is not possible," says this writer, " to conceive a case more exactly in point. Mr. Walpole was expelled, and having a majority of votes at the next election, was returned again. The friends of Mr. Taylor, a candidate set up by the ministry, petitioned the house that he might be the sitting member. Thus far the circumstances tally exactly, except that our House of Commons saved Mr. Luttrell the trouble of petitioning. The point of law, however, was the same. It came regularly before the house, and it was

their business to determine upon it. They did determine it; for they declared Mr. Taylor *not duly elected*."

Instead of examining the justness of this representation, I shall beg leave to oppose against it my own view of this case, in as plain a manner and as few words as I am able.

It was the known and established law of parliament, when the charge against Mr. Walpole came before the House of Commons, that they had power to expel, to disable, and to render incapable for offences. In virtue of this power they expelled him.

Had they, in the very vote of expulsion, adjudged him, in terms, to be incapable of being re-elected, there must have been at once an end with him. But though the right of the house, both to expel, and to adjudge incapable, was clear and indubitable, it does not appear to me, that the full operation and effect of a vote of expulsion singly was so. The law in this case had never been expressly declared. There had been no event to call up such a declaration. I trouble not myself with the grammatical meaning of the word expulsion. I regard only its legal meaning. This was not, as I think, precisely fixed. The house thought proper to fix it, and explicitly to declare the full consequences of their former vote, before they suffered these conse-

quences to take effect. And in this proceeding they acted upon the most liberal and solid principles of equity, justice and law. What then did the burgesses of Lynn collect from the second vote? Their subsequent conduct will tell us: it will with certainty tell us, that they considered it as decisive against Mr. Walpole; it will also, with equal certainty, tell us, that, upon supposition that the law of election stood then, as it does now, and that they knew it to stand thus, they inferred, "that at a future election, and in case of a similar return, the house would receive the same candidate, as duly elected, whom they had before rejected." They could infer nothing but this.

It is needless to repeat the circumstance of dissimilarity in the present case. It will be sufficient to observe, that as the law of parliament, upon which the House of Commons grounded every step of their proceedings, was clear beyond the reach of doubt, so neither could the freeholders of Middlesex be at a loss to foresee what must be the inevitable consequence of their proceedings in opposition to it. For upon every return of Mr. Wilkes, the house made enquiry, whether any votes were given to any other candidate?

But I could venture for the experiment's sake, even to give this writer the utmost he

asks; to allow the most perfect similarity throughout in these two cases; to allow, that the law of expulsion was quite as clear to the burgesses of Lynn, as to the freeholders of Middlesex. It will, I am confident, avail his cause but little. It will only prove, that, the law of election at that time was different from the present law. It will prove, that, in all cases of an incapable candidate returned, the law then was, that the whole election should be void. But now we know that this is not law. The cases of Malden and Bedford were, as has been seen, determined upon other and more just principles. And these determinations are, I imagine, admitted on all sides, to be law.

I would willingly draw a veil over the remaining part of this paper. It is astonishing, it is painful, to see men of parts and ability, giving into the most unworthy artifices, and descending so much below their true line of character. But if they are not the dupes of their sophistry, (which is hardly to be conceived) let them consider that they are something much worse.

The dearest interests of this country are its laws and its constitution. Against every attack upon these, there will, I hope, be always found amongst us the firmest *spirit of resistance*; superior to the united efforts of faction and ambi-

tion. For ambition, though it does not always take the lead of faction, will be sure in the end to make the most fatal advantage of it, and draw it to its own purposes. But, I trust, our day of trial is yet far off; and there is *a fund of good sense in this country, which cannot long be deceived*, by the arts either of false reasoning or false patriotism.

LETTER XX.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

8 August, 1769.

THE gentleman who has published an answer to Sir William Meredith's pamphlet, having honoured me with a postscript of six quarto pages, which he moderately calls, bestowing a *very* few words upon me, I cannot, in common politeness, refuse him a reply. The form and magnitude of a quarto imposes upon the mind; and men, who are unequal to the labour of discussing an intricate argument, or wish to avoid it, are willing enough to suppose, that much has been proved, because much has been said. Mine, I confess, are humble labours. I do not presume to instruct the learned, but simply to inform the body of the people; and I prefer that channel of conveyance, which is

likely to spread farthest among them. The advocates of the ministry seem to me to write for fame, and to flatter themselves, that the size of their works will make them immortal. They pile up reluctant quarto upon solid folio, as if their labours, because they are gigantic, could contend with truth and heaven.

The writer of the volume in question meets me upon my own ground. He acknowledges there is no statute, by which the specific disability we speak of is created, but he affirms, that the custom of parliament has been referred to, and that a case strictly in point has been produced, with the decision of the court upon it.—I thank him for coming so fairly to the point. He asserts, that the case of Mr. Walpole is strictly in point to prove that expulsion creates an absolute incapacity of being re-elected; and for this purpose he refers generally to the first vote of the house upon that occasion, without venturing to recite the vote itself. The unfair, disingenuous artifice of adopting that part of a precedent, which seems to suit his purpose, and omitting the remainder, deserves some pity, but cannot excite my resentment. He takes advantage eagerly of the first resolution, by which Mr. Walpole's incapacity is declared; but as to the two following, by which the candidate with the fewest votes was declared "not

duly elected," and the election itself vacated, I dare say he would be well satisfied, if they were for ever blotted out of the journals of the House of Commons. In fair argument, no part of a precedent should be admitted, unless the whole of it be given to us together. The author has divided his precedent, for he knew, that, taken together, it produced a consequence directly the reverse of that, which he endeavours to draw from a vote of expulsion. But what will this honest person say, if I take him at his word, and demonstrate to him, that the House of Commons never meant to found Mr. Walpole's incapacity upon his expulsion only? What subterfuge will then remain?

Let it be remembered that we are speaking of the intention of men, who lived more than half a century ago, and that such intention can only be collected from their words and actions, as they are delivered to us upon record. To prove their designs by a supposition of what they would have done, opposed to what they actually did, is mere trifling and impertinence. The vote, by which Mr. Walpole's incapacity was declared, is thus expressed, "That Robert Walpole, Esq. having been this session of parliament committed a prisoner to the Tower, and expelled this house for a high breach of trust in the execution of his office, and notorious corruption

when secretary at war, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament*.” Now, Sir, to my understanding, no proposition of this kind can be more evident, than that the House of Commons, by this very vote, themselves understood, and meant to declare, that Mr. Walpole’s incapacity arose from the crimes he had committed, not from the punishment the house annexed to them. The high breach of trust, the notorious corruption are stated in the strongest terms. They do not tell us he was incapable because he was expelled, but because he had been guilty of such offences as justly rendered him unworthy of a seat in parliament. If they had intended to fix the disability upon his expulsion alone, the mention of his crimes in the same vote would

* It is well worth remarking, that the compiler of a certain quarto, called *The case of the late election for the county of Middlesex considered*, has the impudence to recite this very vote, in the following terms, vide page 11, “ Resolved, that Robert Walpole, Esq. having been that session of parliament expelled the house, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in that present parliament.” There cannot be a stronger positive proof of the treachery of the compiler, nor a stronger presumptive proof that he was convinced that the vote, if truly recited, would overturn his whole argument. AUTHOR.

The editor has already remarked that the pamphlet alluded to in the above note of the author was from the pen of Mr. Dyson. See note to p. 191, of the present volume. EDIT.

have been highly improper. It could only perplex the minds of the electors, who, if they collected any thing from so confused a declaration of the law of parliament, must have concluded that their representative had been declared incapable because he was highly guilty, not because he had been punished. But even admitting them to have understood it in the other sense, they must then, from the very terms of the vote, have united the idea of his being sent to the Tower with that of his expulsion, and considered his incapacity as the joint effect of both*.

* TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

22 May, 1771.

VERY early in the debate upon the decision of the Middlesex election, it was observed by JUNIUS, that the House of Commons had not only exceeded their boasted precedent of the expulsion and subsequent incapacitation of Mr. Walpole, but that they had not even adhered to it strictly as far as it went. After convicting Mr. Dyson of giving a false quotation from the Journals, and having explained the purpose, which that contemptible fraud was intended to answer, he proceeds to state the vote itself, by which Mr. Walpole's supposed incapacity was declared, viz.—“Resolved, that Robert Walpole, Esq. having been this session of parliament committed a prisoner to the Tower, and expelled this house for a high breach of trust in the execution of his office, and notorious corruption when secretary at war, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament :”—and then observes that, from the terms of the vote,

I do not mean to give an opinion upon the justice of the proceedings of the House of Commons with regard to Mr. Walpole; but certainly, if I admitted their censure to be well founded, I could no way avoid agreeing with them in the consequence they drew from it. I could never

vote, we have no right to annex the incapacitation to the *expulsion* only, for that, as the proposition stands, it must arise equally from the expulsion and the commitment to the Tower. I believe, Sir, no man, who knows any thing of Dialectics, or who understands English, will dispute the truth and fairness of this construction. But JUNIUS has a great authority to support him, which, to speak with the Duke of Grafton, I accidentally met with this morning in the course of my reading. It contains an admonition, which cannot be repeated too often. Lord Sommers, in his excellent tract upon the rights of the people, after reciting the vote of the convention of the 28th of January, 1689, viz.—“That King James the second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of this kingdom, hath abdicated the government, &c.”—makes this observation upon it. “The word *abdicated* relates to *all* the clauses foregoing, as well as to his deserting the kingdom, or else they would have been wholly in vain.” And that there might be no pretence for confining the *abdication* merely to the *withdrawing*, Lord Sommers farther observes, *that King James, by refusing to govern us according to that law, by which he held the crown, implicitly renounced his title to it.*

If JUNIUS's construction of the vote against Mr. Walpole be now admitted, (and indeed I cannot comprehend how it can honestly be disputed) the advocates of the House of Commons

must

have a doubt, in law or reason, that a man, convicted of a high breach of trust, and of a noto-

must either give up their precedent entirely, or be reduced to the necessity of maintaining one of the grossest absurdities imaginable, viz. "That a commitment to the Tower is a constituent part of, and contributes half at least to the incapacitation of the person who suffers it."

I need not make you any excuse for endeavouring to keep alive the attention of the public to the decision of the Middlesex election. The more I consider it, the more I am convinced that, as a *fact*, it is indeed highly injurious to the rights of the people; but that, as a *precedent*, it is one of the most dangerous that ever was established against those who are to come after us. Yet I am so far a moderate man, that I verily believe the majority of the House of Commons, when they passed this dangerous vote, neither understood the question, nor knew the consequence of what they were doing. Their motives were rather despicable, than criminal, in the extreme. One effect they certainly did not foresee. They are now reduced to such a situation, that if a member of the present House of Commons were to conduct himself ever so improperly, and in reality deserve to be sent back to his constituents with a mark of disgrace, they would not dare to expel him; because they know that the people, in order to try again the great question of right, or to thwart an odious House of Commons, would probably overlook his immediate unworthiness, and return the same person to parliament.—But, in time, the precedent will gain strength. A future House of Commons will have no such apprehensions, consequently will not scruple to follow a precedent, which they did not establish. The miser himself seldom lives to enjoy the fruit of his extortion; but his heir succeeds to him of course, and takes possession without censure. No man expects him to make restitution, and, no matter for his title, he lives quietly upon the estate.

PHILO JUNIUS.

rious corruption, in the execution of a public office, was and ought to be incapable of sitting in the same parliament. Far from attempting to invalidate that vote, I should have wished that the incapacity declared by it could legally have been continued for ever.

Now, Sir, observe how forcibly the argument returns. The House of Commons, upon the face of their proceedings, had the strongest motives to declare Mr. Walpole incapable of being re-elected. They thought such a man unworthy to sit among them. To that point they proceeded ;—no farther ; for they respected the rights of the people, while they asserted their own. They did not infer, from Mr. Walpole's incapacity, that his opponent was duly elected ; on the contrary, they declared Mr. Taylor "Not duly elected," and the election itself void.

Such, however, is the precedent, which my honest friend assures us is strictly in point to prove, that expulsion of itself creates an incapacity of being elected. If it had been so, the present House of Commons should at least have followed strictly the example before them, and should have stated to us, in the same vote, the crimes for which they expelled Mr. Wilkes ; whereas they resolve simply, that, "having been expelled, he was and is incapable." In this proceeding I am authorized to affirm, they have neither statute, nor custom, nor reason, nor one

single precedent to support them. On the other side, there is indeed a precedent so strongly in point, that all the enchanted castles of ministerial magic fall before it. In the year 1698, (a period which the rankest Tory dare not except against) Mr. Wollaston was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his seat in the same parliament. The ministry have precluded themselves from all objections drawn from the cause of his expulsion, for they affirm absolutely, that expulsion of itself creates the disability. Now, Sir, let sophistry evade, let falsehood assert, and impudence deny—here stands the precedent, a landmark to direct us through a troubled sea of controversy, conspicuous and unremoved.

I have dwelt the longer upon the discussion of this point, because, in *my* opinion, it comprehends the whole question. The rest is unworthy of notice. We are enquiring whether incapacity be or be not created by expulsion. In the cases of Bedford and Malden, the incapacity of the persons returned, was matter of public notoriety, for it was created by act of parliament. But, really, Sir, my honest friend's suppositions are as unfavourable to him as his facts. He well knows that the clergy, besides that they are represented in common with their fellow-subjects, have also a separate parliament of their own;—that their incapacity to sit in the House of Com-

mons has been confirmed by repeated decisions of the house, and that the law of parliament, declared by those decisions, has been for above two centuries notorious and undisputed. The author is certainly at liberty to fancy cases, and make whatever comparisons he thinks proper; his suppositions still continue as distant from fact, as his wild discourses are from solid argument.

The conclusion of his book is candid to an extreme. He offers to grant me all I desire. He thinks he may safely admit that the case of Mr. Walpole makes directly against him, for it seems he has one grand solution *in petto* for all difficulties. *If*, says he, *I were to allow all this, it will only prove, that the law of election was different, in Queen Anne's time, from what it is at present.*

This indeed is more than I expected. The principle, I know, has been maintained in fact, but I never expected to see it so formally declared. What can he mean? does he assume this language to satisfy the doubts of the people, or does he mean to rouse their indignation; are the ministry daring enough to affirm, that the House of Commons have a right to make and unmake the law of parliament at their pleasure?—Does the law of parliament, which we are so often told is the law of the land;—does the com-

mon right of every subject of the realm depend upon an arbitrary capricious vote of one branch of the legislature?—The voice of truth and reason must be silent.

The ministry tell us plainly that this is no longer a question of right, but of power and force alone. What was law yesterday is not law to-day: and now it seems we have no better rule to live by than the temporary discretion and fluctuating integrity of the House of Commons.

Professions of patriotism are become stale and ridiculous. For my own part, I claim no merit from endeavouring to do a service to my fellow-subjects. I have done it to the best of my understanding; and, without looking for the approbation of other men, my conscience is satisfied. What remains to be done concerns the collective body of the people. They are now to determine for themselves, whether they will firmly and constitutionally assert their rights; or make an humble, slavish surrender of them at the feet of the ministry. To a generous mind there cannot be a doubt. We owe it to our ancestors to preserve entire those rights, which they have delivered to our care: we owe it to our posterity, not to suffer their dearest inheritance to be destroyed. But if it were possible for us to be insensible of these sacred claims, there is yet an obligation binding upon ourselves,

from which nothing can acquit us,—a personal interest, which we cannot surrender. To alienate even our own rights, would be a crime as much more enormous than suicide, as a life of civil security and freedom is superior to a bare existence; and if life be the bounty of heaven, we scornfully reject the noblest part of the gift, if we consent to surrender that certain rule of living, without which the condition of human nature is not only miserable, but contemptible.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XXI.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

22 August, 1769.

I MUST beg of you to print a few lines, in explanation of some passages in my last letter, which I see have been misunderstood.

1. When I said, that the House of Commons never meant to found Mr. Walpole's incapacity on his expulsion *only*, I meant no more than to deny the general proposition, that expulsion *alone* creates the incapacity. If there be any thing ambiguous in the expression, I beg leave to explain it by saying, that, in my opinion, expulsion neither creates, nor in any part contributes to create the incapacity in question.

2. I carefully avoided entering into the merits of Mr. Walpole's case. I did not enquire, whether the House of Commons acted justly, or whether they truly declared the law of parliament. My remarks went only to their apparent meaning and intention, as it stands declared in their own resolution.

3. I never meant to affirm, that a commitment to the Tower created a disqualification. On the contrary, I considered that idea as an absurdity, into which the ministry must inevitably fall, if they reasoned right upon their own principles.

The case of Mr. Wollaston speaks for itself. The ministry assert that *expulsion alone* creates an absolute, complete incapacity to be re-elected to sit in the same parliament. This proposition they have uniformly maintained, without any condition or modification whatsoever. Mr. Wollaston was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his seat in the same parliament.—I leave it to the public to determine, whether this be a plain matter of fact, or mere nonsense and declamation.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XXII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

4 Sept. 1769.

ARGUMENT against FACT ; or, A new system of political Logic, by which the ministry have demonstrated, to the satisfaction of their friends, that expulsion alone creates a complete incapacity to be re-elected ; *alias*, that a subject of this realm may be robbed of his common right, by a vote of the House of Commons.

FIRST FACT.

MR. Wollaston, in 1698, was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his seat.

ARGUMENT.

As this cannot conveniently be reconciled with our general proposition, it may be necessary to shift our ground, and look back to the *cause* of Mr. Wollaston's expulsion. From thence it will appear clearly that, "although he was expelled, he had not rendered himself a culprit too ignominious to sit in parliament, and that having resigned his employment, he was no longer incapacitated by law." *Vide Serious Considerations, page 28.* Or thus, "The house, somewhat *inaccurately*, used the word **EXPULLED** ;

they should have called it A MOTION." *Vide Mungo's case considered*, page 11. Or in short, if these arguments should be thought insufficient, we may fairly deny the fact. For example ; " I affirm that he was not re-elected. The same Mr. Wollaston, who was expelled, was not again elected. The same individual, if you please, walked into the house, and took his seat there, but the same person in law was not admitted a member of that parliament, from which he had been discarded." *Vide Letter to JUNIUS*, page 12.

SECOND FACT.

Mr. Walpole having been committed to the Tower, and expelled for a high breach of trust and notorious corruption in a public office, was declared incapable, &c.

ARGUMENT.

From the terms of this vote, nothing can be more evident than that the House of Commons meant to fix the incapacity upon the punishment, and not upon the crime ; but lest it should appear in a different light to weak, uninformed persons, it may be adviseable to gut the resolution, and give it to the public, with all possible solemnity, in the following terms, viz. " Resolved, that Robert Walpole, Esq. having been

that session of parliament expelled the house, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in that present parliament." *Vide Mungo, on the use of quotations, page 11.*

N. B. The author of the answer to Sir William Meredith* seems to have made use of Mungo's quotation, for in page 18, he assures us, "That the declaratory vote of the 17th of February, 1769, was indeed a literal copy of the resolution of the house in Mr. Walpole's case."

THIRD FACT.

His opponent, Mr. Taylor, having the smallest number of votes at the next election, was declared NOT DULY ELECTED.

ARGUMENT.

This fact we consider as directly in point to prove that Mr. Luttrell ought to be the sitting member, for the following reasons, "The burgesses of Lynn could draw no other inference from this resolution, but this, that at a future election, and in case of a similar return, the house would receive the same candidate as duly elected, whom they had before rejected." *Vide Postscript to JUNIUS, p. 97.* Or thus: "This their resolution leaves no room to doubt what part they ~~would~~ have taken, if, upon a subse-

* Sir W. Blackstone.

quent re-election of Mr. Walpole, there had been any other candidate in competition with him. For, by their vote, they could have no other intention than to admit such other candidate." *Vide Mungo's case considered*, p. 39. Or take it in this light.—The burgesses of Lynn, having, in defiance of the house, retorted upon them a person, whom they had branded with the most ignominious marks of their displeasure, were thereby so well intitled to favour and indulgence, that the house could do no less than rob Mr. Taylor of a right legally vested in him, in order that the burgesses might be apprized of the law of parliament; which law the house took a very direct way of explaining to them, by resolving that the candidate with the fewest votes was not duly elected:—"And was not this much more equitable, more in the spirit of that equal and substantial justice, which is the end of all law, than if they had violently adhered to the strict maxims of law?" *Vide Serious Considerations*, p. 33 and 34. "And if the present House of Commons had chosen to follow the spirit of this resolution, they would have received and established the candidate with the fewest votes." *Vide Answer to Sir W. M.* p. 18. Permit me now, Sir, to shew you that the worthy Dr. Blackstone sometimes contradicts

the ministry as well as himself. The Speech without doors asserts*, page 9, "That the legal effect of an incapacity, founded on a judicial determination of a competent court, is precisely the same as that of an incapacity created by act of parliament." Now for the Doctor.—*The law and the opinion of the judge are not always convertible terms, or one and the same thing ; since it sometimes may happen that the judge may mistake the law.* Commentaries, Vol. I. p. 71.

The answer to Sir W. M. asserts, page 23, "That the returning officer is not a judicial, but a purely ministerial officer. His return is no judicial act."—At 'em again, Doctor. *The Sheriff, in his judicial capacity is to hear and determine causes of 40 shillings value and under in his county court. He has also a judicial power in divers other civil cases. He is likewise to decide the elections of knights of the shire (subject to the control of the House of Commons), to judge of the qualification of voters, and to return such as he shall DETERMINE to be duly elected.* Vide Commentaries, page 332, Vol. I.

What conclusion shall we draw from such facts, such arguments, and such contradictions? I cannot express my opinion of the present

* See an extract from this speech, inserted in the note to Letter xvii, p. 184. EDIT.

ministry more exactly than in the words of Sir Richard Steele, "that we are governed by a set of drivellers, whose folly takes away all dignity from distress, and makes even calamity ridiculous*."

PHILO JUNIUS.

LETTER XXIII.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

MY LORD,

19 Sept. 1769.

You are so little accustomed to receive any marks of respect or esteem from the public,

* In a pamphlet written by Steele upon the issue of the South-Sea incorporation, at the period when Walpole was just re-emerging from obscurity, to take a more decided and loftier management of public affairs. EDIT.

† The unpopular peace of 1763 was negotiated by the Duke of Bedford, and gave rise to a variety of public commotions which at length broke out into acts of open insurrection among the Spital-fields weavers, who exclaimed that their trade was ruined by its commercial stipulations. The rumour became current that the French court had purchased this peace by bribes to the Princess Dowager of Wales, Lord Bute, the Duke of Bedford, and Mr. Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland: and such was its general belief that the House of Commons thought proper to appoint a committee to examine into its truth; who traced it chiefly to a Dr. Musgrave, who nevertheless does not appear to have suffered from this libellous report, which, as he affirmed, he had brought home with him from Paris. The public disfavour with which the terms of the peace

that if, in the following lines a compliment or expression of applause should escape me, I fear you would consider it as a mockery of your ~~estimation of my character~~, and perhaps an insult to your understanding. ~~have~~ nice feelings,

peace were received, produced a fresh disagreement between Lord Bute and the Duke of Bedford on his return home. Upon the death of Lord Egremont however, Lord Bute found himself compelled once more to apply to the Duke of Bedford for his interest, who, conscious of his importance, exacted not only from Lord Bute but from the king himself a submission to whatever terms he chose to impose, and it was upon this occasion that he insisted upon the dismissal of Lord Bute's brother, Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, from his office, although Mackenzie had received his majesty's solemn promise that he should preserve it for life.

Incapable of submitting to such severe treatment, his Majesty soon afterwards intreated the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Rockingham to rescue him from the Bedford party. They consented, and the Duke was again dismissed with contumely. When his Majesty became disgusted, as he soon did, with this ministry also, Lord Bute applied in the king's name to George Grenville for support, and the Duke of Bedford, who was on terms of the closest friendship with him, once more strove to enter into the cabinet; but on this occasion Lord Bute had spirit enough to treat his offer with the utmost contempt. Lord Chatham was next applied to, who consented to take the lead, provided he was allowed the nomination of his own friends into certain offices he should designate; and this being granted, to strengthen his own hands, he re-introduced the Duke of Bedford, along with his Grace of Grafton:—and on his own resignation, he left them both in the respective offices they filled at the time of the address of the present letter to the former of these noblemen. EDIT.

my Lord, if we may judge from your resentments. Cautious therefore of giving offence, where you have so little deserved it, I shall leave the illustration of your virtues to ~~others~~ ^{you}. Your friends have ~~been~~ ^{been} to play upon the easiness of your temper, or possibly they are better acquainted with your good qualities than I am. You have done good by stealth. The rest is upon record. You have still left ample room for speculation, when panegyric is exhausted.

You are indeed a very considerable man. The highest rank;—a splendid fortune; and a name, glorious till it was yours, were sufficient to have supported you with meaner abilities than I think you possess. From the first you derived a constitutional claim to respect; from the second, a natural extensive authority;—the last created a partial expectation of hereditary virtues. The use you have made of these uncommon advantages might have been more honourable to yourself, but could not be more instructive to mankind. We may trace it in the veneration of your country, the choice of your friends, and in the accomplishment of every sanguine hope, which the public might have conceived from the illustrious name of Russell.

The eminence of your station gave you a commanding prospect of your duty. The road, which led to honour, was open to your view,

You could not lose it by mistake, and you had no temptation to depart from it by design. Compare the natural dignity and importance of ~~the~~ peer of England;—the noble independence, which ~~he~~ have maintained in parliament, and the real interest and respect, which he might have acquired, not only in parliament, but through the whole kingdom; compare these glorious distinctions with the ambition of holding a share in government, the emoluments of a place, the sale of a borough, or the purchase of a corporation*; and though you may not regret the virtues, which create respect, you may see with anguish, how much real importance and authority you have lost. Consider the character of an independent virtuous Duke of Bedford; imagine what he might be in this country, then reflect one moment upon what you are. If it be possible for me to withdraw my attention from the fact, I will tell you in theory what such a man might be.

Conscious of his own weight and importance, his conduct in parliament would be directed by nothing but the constitutional duty of a peer. He would consider himself as a guardian of the laws. Willing to support the just measures of government, but determined to observe the con-

* See note to p. 237. EDIT.

duct of the minister with suspicion, he would oppose the violence of faction with as much firmness, as the encroachments of prerogative. He would be as little capable of bargaining with the minister for places for himself, or his dependents, as of descending to mix himself in the intrigues of opposition. Whenever an important question called for his opinion in parliament, he would be heard, by the most profligate minister, with deference and respect. His authority would either sanctify or disgrace the measures of government.—The people would look up to him as to their protector, and a virtuous prince would have one honest man in his dominions, in whose integrity and judgment he might safely confide. If it should be the will of Providence to afflict him with a domestic misfortune*, he would submit to the stroke, with feeling, but not without dignity. He would consider the people as his children, and receive a generous heart-felt consolation, in the sympathizing tears, and blessings of his country.

Your Grace may probably discover something more intelligible in the negative part of this illustrious character. The man I have described would never prostitute his dignity in parliament by an indecent violence either in op-

* The Duke lately lost his only son, by a fall from his horse.

posing or defending a minister. He would not at one moment rancorously persecute, at another basely cringe to the favourite of his Sovereign. After outraging the royal dignity with peremptory conditions, little short of menace and hostility, he would never descend to the humility of soliciting an interview* with the favourite, and of offering to recover, at any price, the honour of his friendship. Though deceived perhaps in his youth, he would not, through the course of a long life, have invariably chosen his friends from among the most profligate of mankind. His own honour would have forbidden him from mixing his private pleasures or conversation with jockeys, gamesters, blasphemers, gladiators, or buffoons. He would then have never felt, much less would he have submitted to the humiliating, dishonest necessity of engaging in the interest and intrigues of his dependents, of supplying their vices, or relieving their beggary, at the expence of his country. He would not have betrayed such ignorance, or such contempt of the constitution, as openly to avow, in a court of justice, the † purchase and sale of a

* At this interview, which passed at the house of the late Lord Eglington, Lord Bute told the Duke that he was determined never to have any connection with a man, who had so basely betrayed him.

† to take an answer in Chancery, in a suit against him to recover a large sum paid him by a person, whom he had undertaken

dertaken

borough. He would not have thought it consistent with his rank in the state, or even with his personal importance, to be the little tyrant of a little corporation*. He would never have been insulted with virtues, which he had laboured to extinguish, nor suffered the disgrace of a mortifying defeat, which has made him ri-

dertaken to return to parliament, for one of his Grace's boroughs. He was compelled to repay the money.

* Of Bedford, where the tyrant was held in such contempt and detestation, that, in order to deliver themselves from him, they admitted a great number of strangers to the freedom. To make his defeat truly ridiculous, he tried his whole strength against Mr. Horne, and was beaten upon his own ground;

AUTHOR.

This contest took place September 4th., 1769, on the election of mayor, bailiff, and chamberlains for the borough of Bedford. His Grace having in vain objected to the making of any new freemen, at length prevailed on the corporation to allow some of his own particular friends to be put in nomination, when about twenty of them were made accordingly. The names of the freemen proposed to be elected on the popular side of the question, were then read, and were heard with profound silence by his Grace, till the name of John Horne was pronounced, when the Duke expressed himself with great bitterness towards that gentleman in particular; the corporation however divided upon the point, and Mr Horne was elected, there being seventeen votes in his favour and eleven against him. The candidates for the office of mayor, were on the popular side Mr. Cawne, and on the part of the Duke of Bedford, Mr. Richards, the former of whom was elected by 458 votes against 26. The triumph over his Grace was, of course complete. END.

diculous and contemptible, even to the few by whom he was not detested.—I reverence the afflictions of a good man,—his sorrows are sacred. But how can we take part in the distresses of a man, whom we can neither love nor esteem; or feel for a calamity of which he himself is insensible? Where was the father's heart, when he could look for, or find an immediate consolation for the loss of an only son, in consultations and bargains for a place at court, and even in the misery of ballotting at the India House!

Admitting then that you have mistaken or deserted those honourable principles, which ought to have directed your conduct; admitting that you have as little claim to private affection as to public esteem, let us see with what abilities, with what degree of judgment you have carried your own system into execution. A great man, in the success and even in the magnitude of his crimes, finds a rescue from contempt. Your Grace is every way unfortunate. Yet I will not look back to those ridiculous scenes, by which in your earlier days, you thought it an honour to be distinguished*; the

* Mr. Heston Homphrey, a country Attorney, horsewhipped the Duke, with equal justice, severity, and perseverance, on the course at Litchfield. *Rigby* and *Lord Trentham* were also cudgelled in a most exemplary manner. This gave rise to the following story: "When the late King heard that Sir

recorded stripes, the public infamy, your own sufferings, or Mr. Rigby's fortitude. These events undoubtedly left an impression, though not upon your mind. To such a mind, it may perhaps be a pleasure to reflect, that there is hardly a corner of any of his Majesty's kingdoms, except France, in which, at one time or other, your valuable life has not been in danger. Amiable man! we see and acknowledge the protection of Providence, by which you have so often escaped the personal detestation of your fellow-subjects, and are still reserved for the public justice of your country.

Your history begins to be important at that auspicious period, at which you were deputed to represent the Earl of Bute, at the court of Versailles. It was an honourable office, and executed with the same spirit, with which it was accepted. Your patrons wanted an ambassador, who would submit to make concessions, without daring to insist upon any honourable condition for his Sovereign*. Their business required a

Edward Hawke had given the French a *drubbing*, his Majesty, who had never received that kind of chastisement, was pleased to ask Lord Chesterfield the meaning of the word.—Sir, says Lord Chesterfield, the meaning of the word—but here comes the Duke of Bedford, who is better able to explain it to your Majesty than I am."

* Soon after the death of the Duke of Bedford the following paragraph was inserted in the *Public Advertiser*, and as it remained

man, who had as little feeling for his own dignity as for the welfare of his country; and they found him in the first rank of the nobility. Belleisle, Goree, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Martinique, the Fishery, and the Havanna, are glorious monuments of your Grace's talents for

remained uncontradicted, there is some reason to believe it authentic: As the Duke in this letter is arraigned in the most severe terms for the concessions made in negotiating the peace of 1763, it is but justice to his Grace, that a circumstance so honourable should be more generally known. The paragraph runs thus :

“ The following anecdote of the late Duke of Bedford may be depended upon as fact:—When his Grace negotiated the late peace at Paris, he signed the preliminaries with the French minister Choiseul, and stipulated no farther for the possessions of the East India Company than he was advised to stipulate by the court of directors. A gentleman (a Dutch Jew of great abilities and character) hearing this, wrote a letter to the Duke of Bedford, informing him that the English East India Company had materially neglected their own interest, as their chief conquests were made subsequent to the period at which they had fixed their claim of sovereignty; and if these latter conquests were to be restored, an immense annual revenue would necessarily be taken from England. The Duke, struck with the force of the fact, yet embarrassed how to act, as preliminaries were really signed, repaired to Choiseul at Versailles, and addressed him thus:—‘ My Lord, I have committed a great mistake in signing the preliminaries, as the affair of the India possessions must be carried down to our last conquest in Asia.’ To this Choiseul replied, ‘ Your Grace astonishes me; I thought I had been treating with the minister of a great nation, and not with a student in politics, who does not consider
the

negotiation*. My Lord, we are too well acquainted with your pecuniary character, to think it possible that so many public sacrifices should have been made, without some private compensations. Your conduct carries with it an internal evidence, beyond all the legal proofs of a court of justice. Even the callous pride of Lord Egremont was alarmed†. He saw and

the validity of written engagements.' 'Your reproach, my Lord, is just,' returned the Duke, 'but I will not add treachery to negligence, nor betray my country deliberately, because I have overlooked her interest unaccountably in a single circumstance; therefore, unless your Lordship agrees to cede the latter conquests in India, I shall return home in twelve hours, and submit the fate of my head to the discretion of an English parliament.' Choiseul, staggered at the Duke's intrepidity, complied; and this country now enjoys above half a million annually through the firmness of a man, whom it is even patriotism at present to calumniate, but whose virtues have never yet received justice from the community. On the termination of the affair to his satisfaction, he gave his informant, the Dutch gentleman, the warmest recommendations to England, who accordingly came over, and receives at this moment a pension of 500*l.* a year from the India Company as a reward for his services." EDIT.

* The peace of 1763 was negotiated by his Grace of Bedford; the conquests here specified were relinquished by its conditions: and the ruinour, as already observed, was in general circulation that the Duke and his friends had been bribed into so prodigal a surrender. See the note in p. 231 of the present volume. EDIT.

† This man, notwithstanding his pride and Tory principles, had some English stuff in him. Upon an official letter he

felt his own dishonour in corresponding with you; and there certainly was a moment, at which he meant to have resisted, had not a fatal lethargy prevailed over his faculties, and carried all sense and memory away with it.

I will not pretend to specify the secret terms on which you were invited to support an * administration which Lord Bute pretended to leave in full possession of their ministerial authority, and perfectly masters of themselves. He was not of a temper to relinquish power, though he retired from employment. Stipulations were certainly made between your Grace and him, and certainly violated. After two years submission, you thought you had collected a strength sufficient to controul his influence, and that it was your turn to be a tyrant, because you had been a slave. When you found yourself mistaken in your opinion of your gracious Master's firmness, disappointment got the better of all your humble discretion, and carried you to an excess of outrage to his person, as distant from true spirit, as from all decency and respect†. After robbing him of the rights of a

wrote to the Duke of Bedford, the Duke desired to be recalled, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Lord Bute could appease him.

* Mr. Grenville, Lord Halifax, and Lord Egremont.

† The ministry having endeavoured to exclude the Dowager out of the regency bill, the Earl of Bute determined to dismiss

King, you would not permit him to preserve the honour of a gentleman. It was then Lord Weymouth was nominated to Ireland, and dispatched (we well remember with what indecent hurry) to plunder the treasury of the first fruits of an employment which you well knew he was never to execute*.

This sudden declaration of war against the favourite might have given you a momentary merit with the public, if it had either been adopted upon principle, or maintained with resolution. Without looking back to all your former servility, we need only observe your subsequent conduct, to see upon what motives you acted. Apparently united with Mr. Grenville, you waited until Lord Rockingham's feeble administration should dissolve in its own weakness.—The moment their dismissal was suspected, the moment you perceived that another system was adopted in the closet, you thought it no disgrace to return to your former dependence, and solicit once more the friendship of Lord Bute. You begged an interview, at which

miss them. Upon this the Duke of Bedford demanded an audience of the King, reproached him in plain terms, with his duplicity, baseness, falsehood, treachery, and hypocrisy, —repeatedly gave him the lie, and left him in convulsions.

* He received three thousand pounds for plate and equipage money.

he had spirit enough to treat you with contempt.

It would now be of little use to point out, by what a train of weak, injudicious measures, it became necessary, or was thought so, to call you back to a share in the administration*. The friends, whom you did not in the last instance desert, were not of a character to add strength or credit to government; and at that time your alliance with the Duke of Grafton was, I presume, hardly foreseen. We must look for other stipulations, to account for that sudden resolution, of the closet, by which three of your dependants† (whose characters, I think, cannot be less respected than they are) were advanced to offices, through which you might again controul the minister, and probably engross the whole direction of affairs.

The possession of absolute power is now once more within your reach. The measures you have taken to obtain and confirm it, are too gross to escape the eyes of a discerning judicious prince. His palace is besieged; the lines of circumvallation are drawing round him;

* When Earl Gower was appointed president of the council, the King, with his usual sincerity, assured him, that he had not had one happy moment, since the Duke of Bedford left him.

† Lords Gower, Weymouth, and Sandwich.

and unless he finds a resource in his own activity, or in the attachment of the real friends of his family, the best of princes must submit to the confinement of a state prisoner, until your Grace's death, or some less fortunate event shall raise the siege. For the present, you may safely resume that stile of insult and menace, which even a private gentleman cannot submit to hear without being contemptible. Mr. Mackenzie's history is not yet forgotten, and you may find precedents enough of the mode, in which an imperious subject may signify his pleasure to his Sovereign. Where will this gracious monarch look for assistance, when the wretched Grafton could forget his obligations to his master, and desert him for a hollow alliance with *such* a man as the Duke of Bedford!

Let us consider you, then, as arrived at the summit of worldly greatness; let us suppose, that all your plans of avarice and ambition are accomplished, and your most sanguine wishes gratified in the fear, as well as the hatred of the people: Can age itself forget that you are now in the last act of life? Can grey hairs make folly venerable? and is there no period to be reserved for meditation and retirement? For shame! my Lord: let it not be recorded of you, that the latest moments of your life were dedi-

cated to the same unworthy pursuits, the same busy agitations, in which your youth and manhood were exhausted. Consider, that, although you cannot disgrace your former life, you are violating the character of age, and exposing the impotent imbecility, after you have lost the vigour of the passions.

Your friends will ask, perhaps, Whither shall this unhappy old man retire? Can he remain in the metropolis, where his life has been so often threatened, and his palace so often attacked? If he returns to Wooburn, scorn and mockery await him. He must create a solitude round his estate, if he would avoid the face of reproach and derision. At Plymouth, his destruction would be more than probable; at Exeter, inevitable. No honest Englishman will ever forget his attachment, nor any honest Scotchman forgive his treachery, to Lord Bute. At every town he enters, he must change his liveries and his name. Which ever way he flies, the *Hue and Cry* of the country pursues him.

In another kingdom indeed, the blessings of his administration have been more sensibly felt; his virtues better understood; or at worst, they will not, for him alone, forget their hospitality.—As well might VERRES have returned to

